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TRANSACTIONS

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

Antiquarian Society

1897

In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

VOL. XV.—1897.

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1898.

The Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society desire it to be known that the Authors alone are responsible for any statements or opinions contained in their contributions to the Transactions of the Society.

This volume is edited by Mr. Charles W. Sutton.

Slipper Hon: Mag. Sec.
Lantern-night
4-27-26

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VISITS AND EXCURSIONS MADE BY THE SOCIETY IN 1897.

April 7th.—Queen's Park Art Gallery.

April 26th.—Clayton Old Hall.

May 8th.—Chorley Hall and Alderley Church.

May 22nd.—Mellor Church.

May 29th.—Speke Hall and Hale.

May 31st.—Hartshead and neighbourhood.

June 30th.—Ordsal Hall.

July 10th.—Lancaster Church, Halton Church, Hornby Castle, Thurland Castle, and Melling and Tunstall Churches.

July 14th.—Robin Hood's Picking Rods on Ludworth Common.

August 2nd.—Settle: Attermire Tarn, Victoria Cave, Scaleber Force, Giggleswick Church.

August 21st.—Beeston and Peckforton Castles.

Meetings for the reading of Papers, Discussions, and Exhibition of Antiquities were held monthly during the Winter Session in the Chetham College, Manchester.

The Annual Conversazione took place at the City Art Gallery, Mosley Street, Manchester, on Tuesday, December 7th, 1897.

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UNIV. OF N. H.

"t. Manch:" J Barritt 1819

H.G. James 1821-5.

1/1
9

fr: r Hot Stead
2" otherwise "Crompton's Folly"
Crompton, Borough reeve,
down Feb. 1818.

THE STORY OF MANCHESTER CROSS.

BY G. H. ROWBOTHAM.

> The simple folk once used to throng
> These mouldering steps beneath,
> And every child that passed along
> Its soft petitions breathed,
> In pious days of yore.
>
> ALFORD.

IN pre-Reformation days and throughout Europe no landmark was more familiar to every man, woman, and child than the market cross. Each city and town possessed one or more, and in the remotest villages they were to be found. In certain of the greater cities of the Continent—Nuremberg, for example—they remain to this day, and, all sentiment apart, are valuable and highly interesting, viewed simply as works of art. In our own country, too, many fine specimens still exist, though these do not always occupy the original site, as, for instance, at Bristol, the High Cross of which was taken down and re-erected at Stourhead as long ago as 1766.

The majority have, however, entirely disappeared, and amongst them must regretfully be included our Market Cross of Manchester, or THE CROSS, as it was generally styled in ancient days. When the original structure was

erected, or what it was like, I am afraid we shall never know and it were idle to conjecture, but this much is certain, that the original mediæval cross was standing (though sadly dilapidated through time and neglect) as late as the year 1680, and the following brief notes, culled chiefly from the *Manchester Court Leet Records*, will serve to record the history of its declining years.

The exact site, as nearly as may be defined, was at the eastern end of the oblong space occupied at one time by the Old Shambles, in the Market Place, where is now the principal entrance to the Coal Exchange, and right opposite to the Bull's Head Inn. In close proximity stood the old tollbooth or courthouse, the stocks, gibbet, and cage, and round about this curiously assorted quintette revolved for centuries the busy life of the infant Cottonopolis. A very picturesque corner must this have been in the olden days, with clusters of carved and painted gables nodding to each other on every side of the little market place, which on market days must have fairly hummed with its crowd of eager chafferers in "victuals, points, laces, incles, & other smallwares." A small bell fixed in the gable of the wooden tollbooth gave forth the hour of opening and closing of the market, and woe be to him or her who bought or sold outside the authorised hours. One old timbered house still stands at the corner of the Old Shambles and the Market Place, sturdy still, and but little changed outwardly since its erection three or four hundred years ago.

Under date December 11th, 1554, the jury (of the Court Leet) direct the attention of the scavengers to the state of the public thoroughfare "betwyx the coundyth (conduit) and the *Crosse in Market Sted lanne*." Unless old Market Sted Lane included that portion of the

market stead lying between the end of Old Mealgate and the present Market Street, which I very much doubt, this entry must refer to some cross other than the Market Cross, and may point to some forgotten memorial which may have stood near, and, indeed, have given name to, the present Cross Street.* I can find no reference at this early date to the Market Cross itself, though it narrowly escaped a direful notoriety in connection with our Manchester martyr, John Bradford, who passed through the fire of Smithfield in 1555, of whom we read "that it was at first intended hee should have bin burned at Manchester."

Incidental mention of "the Crosse" occurs in 1583, and in 1595 "the selling of Bread there is prohibited which in future is to be soulde at Smithie Doare according to ye Auncyente custom." It is evident from this order that Smithy Door Market was second only in point of antiquity to the old market. The former lasted down to the time of the great clearance for the Victoria Hotel block, the erection of which most of us remember.

Briefly noting that "ye Sclensses of ye Market place" are strictly enjoyned in the autumn of 1600, to keep clean the vicinity of "ye Crosse, Stocks & Cadge," we come, under date 30th September, 1613, to the first mention of the actual fabric of the cross itself, only to learn that it was even then in need of repair. Orders were given accordingly to "Repayre and amende" the same "at the costes of the wholle towne." But with the passing of this resolution the matter was shelved, and naught more is heard on the subject for the lengthy period of seven

* Harland in his *Mamecestre*, vol. i., p. 38, has the following under the first quarter of the thirteenth century: "Acres Fair covered St. Ann's Square & neighbouring land; the Cross of the fair & market being erected where Cross St. is now, & tolls, etc., collected in Toll Lane."

years, when the question again crops up on the 27th April, 1620, in a report to the jury, "that the Market Crosse, and Bell, and Cage & the Stayres at Salford Bridge" are all in great decay. This time something was done, and the considerable sum of £10. 1s. 6d. disbursed for charges of the cross, appears in the *Constables' Accounts* of the following year. These repairs were executed at the public charge. A few years later, in September, 1625, the constables paid five shillings "for pointinge the Crosse & for Laying the new pillorye in Colors of oyle." From this, the year of accession of the unlucky Charles Stuart, until a whole generation, a much troubled one, had passed away, we hear nothing of the cross, albeit never before in all its history had more stirring emotions filled the breasts of the excited crowds which circled about its base.

Proclamation and counter proclamation were fulminated from beneath its shade, whilst the crowded market place grew more crowded still with the mustering of armed men. At length, the old town, having passed through the successive horrors of siege, pestilence, and famine, national affairs began to run in a somewhat smoother channel, and the citizens were able once more to find time to look into matters of local interest, so we have the jury, on the 22nd April, 1658, ordering that a tax shall be laid for the "repaire of the Crosse," and appointing the boroughreeve, Mr. William Byron, and an ex-reeve, Mr. Henry Dickonson, "Overseers of the Worke." Nothing was done, however, either this year or in the following one, when the political horizon again clouded over, and the citizens had more important things to claim their attention; but a year later, on the 26th April, 1660, the loyalty of the townsfolk, or at all events of the "Jury," manifested itself in an instruction for

the immediate repairing of the Market Cross, "with a Crowne as formerly." Appended to this entry in the *Records* appears the word "done." The loyal emblem had most likely disappeared during the early years of the interregnum, possibly in 1649, when much havoc was wrought in and about our old Collegiate Church—carved work and blazoned window falling beneath the axes and hammers of a fanatical soldiery, whose motto might well have been "no cross and no crown."

With the trifling outlay involved in the replacing of the familiar symbol of royalty, all reference to either cross or crown ceases until the month of October, 1664, when we are informed "that the Markett Crosse of this Towne wants repayre and is in some danger of fallinge."

The boroughreeve, the constables, and Mr. Dickonson are requested "to take care for the present repaire, alteracion & makinge good of the said Crosse and takeinge downe any parte thereof for prevencion of danger," all this to be done at the "publiq charge."

Unfortunately, as appears by the sequel, the boroughreeve and the other gentlemen named "took care" only to do nothing in the matter for some sixteen long years during which the condition of the ancient structure rapidly grew from bad to worse.

The combined report and injunction of October, 1664, is repeated in almost exactly similar terms in 1665, 1669; April, 1670; October, 1670; 1671, 1673, and on 5th October, 1676.

On the date last named the result of the systematic neglect of past years is plainly seen in the wording of the now familiar order, which is no longer as hitherto "for the alteracion or repair," but for the "rebuildinge of the said Crosse," which, it is added, is "soe Commendable a worke." Commendable or not, this recommendation, in

turn, fared no whit better than its predecessors, and a still later order of April, 1679, was treated with the same indifference; in short, it was not until the year 1680 that any action was taken in the matter. At the court leet, held on the 5th October, we are informed that, "Whereas the late Constables Mr. Roger Makin & Mr. Edward Siddall, have made a Contract for the re-buildinge of the Crosse & have paide to the workemen in order to the doeinge of the worke & for materialls to effect the same withall, the Sume of £6 : 12 : 7 and have remaineing in their hands the sume of £4 : 9 : 1½. Itt is ordered by the Iury aforesaid and this Court, that the said Mr. Meakin & Mr. Siddall doe take care the said Contract bee performed to all Intents & purposes as if they had been still in office & that they take to their assistance the present Constables and that this worke bee finished with all convenient speed." By a subsequent and final reference* (see appendix), dated 12th April, 1681, we learn that the total cost of rebuilding was £12, the final instalment of 20s. being then paid on completion of the contract.

As in the case of the original mediæval cross, which, as we have seen, lasted (in a more or less shaky condition) down to the year 1680, I can nowhere find any drawing or description to show us what manner of thing the new structure was, but it is unlikely to have possessed any special architectural merit, the particular period of its erection discouraging that idea, and in all probability the new comer was nothing better than a glorified sundial of a type pretty common at the end of the seventeenth century. Good or bad, however,

* The *Court Leet Records* are unfortunately missing from 1687 to 1731, and the *Constables' Accounts* from 1648 to 1742.

it served its purpose for three-score years and ten, and during that period some lively scenes were enacted in the ancient market stead. Not the least of these took place on that November day in the '45, when the soldiers of the "Young Pretender" crowded into the narrow streets of the town, and cockades and proclamations were showered in thick profusion from the windows of the old "Bull's Head." A year later the severed heads of some of these misguided gallants, in the horrible fashion of the time, showed ghastly above the parapet of the adjacent Exchange.

For twenty years before this date (*i.e.*, 1745)* Manchester had been accounted the largest, most rich, populous, and busy village in England," and with the growing importance of the "village" came various local improvements, and amongst these we read† (in the month of March, 1752) that "a new Market Cross was erected from the designs of Oliver Nab," and the *Constables' Accounts* of that year furnish us with the exact cost of the same, viz., £26. 11s. 5d., exclusive of an item of 5s. 6d. paid to John Shaw for "ale had by massons" during the progress of the work. Of this, the third recorded cross erected on this site, there are two known views, one in a painting by "Old Parry" of the Market Place as it was about the year 1810, and the other a crude sketch by Thomas Barritt, dated 1819, and now preserved in one of his sketch-books at the Chetham Library. At the first glance no one would dream that the two drawings were intended to depict one and

* In 1727 the population was estimated at 50,000 (Defoe's *Tour through England*), and in 1745 it is said to have been "more populous than York or Norwich, or most cities in England, and as big as two or three of the esser ones put together" (Axon's *Annals*).

† Axon's *Annals of Manchester*.

the same object, and indeed it is not altogether easy to reconcile them. Each certainly terminates at the top in a crown, and each rests upon a solid square base, whilst the upper part of both corresponds in this particular, viz., that it is clearly constructed of metal, iron, or lead work, rising from a square block, bearing a dial, but with these coincidences the general resemblance ends. The tall and not inelegant shaft of "Parry's" cross consists of an Early English looking clustered column with characteristic moulded base and bands, but what shall we say of Barritt's Indian-club arrangement, except to express the pious hope that the design, in all its alarming ugliness, may long remain unique.

My explanation is that Barritt's sketch is not to be relied on. In the first place it was made in 1819, after the cross had been taken down some three or four years,* and in all likelihood was drawn from memory.

Now Mr. Barritt may have been, and, I believe, was, an excellent man and most industrious antiquary, but as a draughtsman I am afraid his efforts are not altogether trustworthy. In support of this opinion I exhibit herewith a drawing of certain old houses which formerly stood opposite the entrance to the Market Stead.†

---

* Axon's *Annals* gives the date 1816. Barritt says 1817. The real date was November, 1815.

† See Croston's *Old Manchester*, published 1875, page 8, where he says "this view, No. 37, is copied from a drawing made by Thomas Barritt, in the *latter part of the last century*, and represents the block of buildings removed in 1776 to form the present approach to St. Ann's Square." Mr. Croston is clearly in error in assuming that the whole of this block was removed at one time, and that so early as 1776. Barritt's own inscription on the sketch runs, "Old houses *took* down to make way for the Exchange & Exchange Street," and then follows the date 1819. The four gables to the right hand of the drawing were no doubt taken down about the years 1776-7, but the major portion of the group was certainly standing until the early years of the present century, the last tenement disappearing, I believe, about 1804-5. (See Aston's *Description of the*

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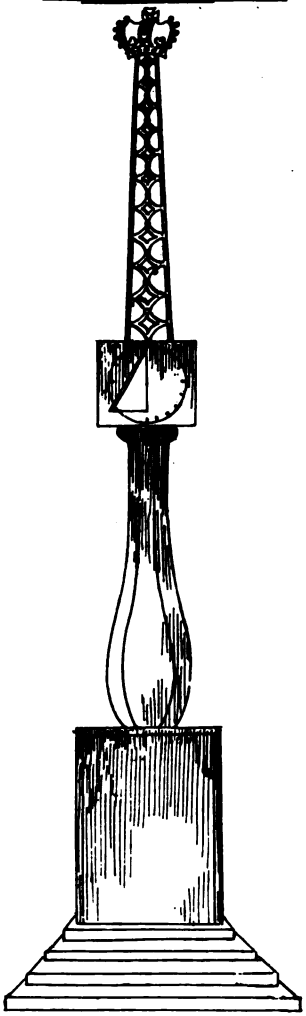
MANCHESTER CROSS

FROM SKETCH MADE IN 1819

BY

T. BARRITT.



AS DRAWN

BY JOSEPH PARRY

IN 1810.

"THE JUBILEE EXHIBITION" CROSS.

1887

after drawing

by J. LANGHAM.

Barritt's drawing of this group (made in 1819, many years after the last of the old gables had disappeared) was utilised by the artist James, some few years later, when he issued his well-known series of "Views in Manchester and the Vicinity."* A comparison of these two drawings will reveal the fact that Mr. James himself was somewhat of a disbeliever in Barritt's accuracy; otherwise it is difficult to account for the numerous alterations and corrections which appear in the published lithograph.

Fortunately there is a third view extant,† which is certainly earlier in point of time than either of the other two, and I have reason to believe more to be relied upon. I give a sketch of this also, and venture to think that a further comparison of the three will prove instructive. To conclude, our worthy Barritt had considerable skill as a caricaturist, as his sketch-books abundantly testify, but I fear this propensity was not conducive of rigid accuracy in his later excursions into local topography.

Joseph Parry's view of the old Market Place was exhibited at the Jubilee Exhibition (Old Manchester) in 1887, and has been fully and admirably described by the late Sir Thomas Baker in *Palatine Note-book* for October, 1883. I believe we have in this wonderfully clever little picture‡ the only authentic representation of the market place of old Manchester (with its cross,

---

Manchester Exchange, published 1810.) Another point worth noting is that the four gables just referred to are shown in Barritt's sketch, in little more than outline, the rest are more fully (though incorrectly) completed as regards the open-timber work. The Exchange was built between July, 1806, and the spring of 1809.

* Published 1821-5.

† A water-colour drawing of uncertain date, but probably 1805-7, and now to be seen in the *Manchester Scrap-book*, Chetham College.

‡ The property of Captain Dauntesey, of Agecroft Hall.

pillory, and ancient timbered houses) as it appeared just prior to the general clearance begun in 1815-6.

The "last scene of all" in the history of our old cross may best be described in the words of Mr. Joseph Aston, as reported in the *Manchester Herald* of 14th November, 1815: "The Cross in our Market Place being built of stone which soon perishes, being out of repair, and in danger of falling, *is now taking down*, under the direction of the Surveyors of the Highways; who also with the consent of the Lord of the Manor are about to remove the Pillory, so many years a disgrace to the Police of this town. A temporary one, when delinquency unhappily calls for public punishment will, we understand be made use of in future;* By removing the Cross (which was erected by subscription in 1752), a flagged footway will be continued from the Exchange to the Old Millgate and of course the Market-place will be much improved."

This paper would not be deemed complete without brief mention of the resuscitated cross which graced the Jubilee Exhibition of 1887. It was the difficulty of reconciling that remarkable creation with the picture of the "true Cross," then on view in an adjoining room, that induced me to enquire further into the subject, with the result which is here set forth.

APPENDIX OF REFERENCES.

1554 Dec. 11. The Jury order all myddejngs betwyx ye coundyth and the Crosse in Market Sted lanne to be taken away &c.

1583 Oct. 8. The Borrowreue to give warnings tow Market Daies at the Crosse touchinge the foddering of horses.

1598 Oct. 5. "The Jurye dothe order that all those that sell breade in the m'kett neare unto the Crosse, shall from henceffurth Reffrene (refrain)

* This was erected in May, 1816, and its services at once brought into requisition.

from Sellinge any more breade there, but shall bringe theire breade unto the Smithie Doare to be Soulde accordinge to the Ancyente Custome sub pena to euvrye one for euvrye tyme so offendinge xij^{d} and that the Bororeve & some of ye Jurye shalbe assistinge."

1600 Oct. 2. Item yt ye Sclensses of ye m'ket place shall herafter weekly make cleane ye said market place once a weeke and especiallye aboute ye Crosse Stocks & Cadge in payne to euvrye of ye said clencers for ye tyme being & makinge default xijd.

1613 Sep. 30. The Jurie doe order That the constables for the yeare ensuynge shall at the Costes of the wholle towne of Manchester Repayre and amende the Market crosse there in good & Decent manner.

* 1613 Sep. 30. Whereas dyvers people, doe assemble theymselues together on the Frydaye Weekelie, at or neare unto the Market Crosse, within the towne of Manchester making shew of market there, by waie of buyenge & sellinge pointes, Incle,† and certen other smalewares wch metinge & assemblie, is thoughte to be much prejudiciall to the Saterday Market, & especially, to many pore inhabitants within & neare adjoyninge unto the saide towne, for Redresse whereof The Jurie in confirmac'on of a former order made at Easter Leete in the ffirste yeare of the Kinges Maties reigne (28 April 1603) that now is, doth order yt euvrye person wch from hencefurthe shall on the ffrydaie, or any other daye but on ye Saterdaye, or Mondaye, bringe or sende any pointes, laces, Incle, or any other wares whatsoever (victuall excepted) unto the Market Crosse, or to any publicke, or open place in the streetes of the same towne, or unto any place within the saide Towne (unlesse yt be unto his, or their own shoppe or warehouse), and then & there shall sell or make sale of any such pointes, laces, Incle, or other wares, contrarye to the Intencion of this present order shall fforfeit for euvrye daye so offendinge five shillinges.

1620 April 27. It is reported to the Jurye that the Market Crosse, and Bell and Cage and the Stayres at Salford Bridge end leading downe to the water are in great decay.

A Ley ordered for their repair by 10 May next.

1621 Octr. 10. The Jurye doe order that whereas it doth appear by th' accompt of James ffoxe & John Bowker, constables for this towne in the year 1604 who had disbursed in theire yeare more money than in that yeare they did, or could receive to the value of lv^{s} ij^{d} And further in this last yeare that Richard Halliwell & Thomas Lancashire have likewise Disbursed for repayringe of the Crosse according to sundrie orders made for that purpose by this Court & for other charges necessarye to bee done within theire yeare the some of £8 : 2 : 1 more than they have received . . . a Ley is ordered for due repayment before Christmas next.

---

* This order was rescinded a year later.

† Incle, coarse tape.

1621 Octr. 10.

"Received from Mrs Pendletonne wh her husband had in his handes collected for the Crosse £4 : 1 : –."—*Manchester Constables' Accounts.*

1621 Oct. 10.

"Item, Disbursed for Chardges of the Crosse £10 : 1 : 6."—*Manchester Constables' Accounts.*

1625 Sep. 16.

"Paid Thomas Andrews of Stopford for a Tree to bee a new* Pillorye 12/6 & to Wm Brockhurst for bords, Joystes and sparrs to the same 5/8.
paid Symond Mather & his man for the worke and for Smytes worcke & men to helpe to Reare the Pillorye 11/5.
Sep. 17.
Paid Henry Pendleton & Wm Smyth for pointinge the Crosse & for Laying the new pillorye in Colors of oyle five shillings."
Manchester Constables' Accounts.

1649. The Parliament's proclamation prohibiting any person from being styled King of England was read in the Market place 6 February, at four o'clock in the afternoon.—Earwaker's *Local Gleanings.*

1651. When the proclamation of the Parliament against Charles Stuart, King of Scots, was being read it was torn to pieces by Captain Bexwicke.—Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis.*

1658 April 22. "Whereas it appeareth unto this Jurye that the Markett Crosse and the staires leadinge to the water att Salford Bridge end are in decay, it is ordered that the Miselayers shall amongst other Townes layes, lay a tax for the repaire of the said Crosse & staires and for setting of A doore att the Topp, of the said staires betwixt this and the 1st daye of July next, and the present Constables are to take care that this present order be performed. And the said Jurye doth desire that Mr Wm Byron Borrowreeve & Mr Henry Dickonson will be pleased to be Overseers of the worke."

1660 April 26. "The Jurye doe order that the present Constables shall forthwith repaire the Market Crosse with a Crowne as formerly it hath beene and that Mr Henry Dickenson present Burrowreeve Mr Michael Buxton & Mr James Marler doe assist them in overseeing the worke"—*done.*

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* At the Court Leet held 1625, April 6th, it was ordered that a "sufficient Gibbett or Pillorye for the use of this Towne shall be set up in some convenient place about the Market Cross." This was not the only pillory in Manchester, for we find in 1651 "the Jurye doe order that the Jebitt in the Market place for Corne (Hydes Cross) erected for the punishment of the souldiery & now of noe use, but prejudiciall to this market shall be taken down."

1661. Land purchased "lyeing in the Old Mealegate towards the Markett steade over against the Crosse."

1661 Apl. 23. "The Coronation of Charles II. celebrated by processions, dinners &c. The conduit ran claret instead of water."—Axon's *Annals of Manchester.*

1664 Oct. 4. "The Jurye doe finde that the Markett Crosse of this Towne wants repayre, and that it is in some danger of fallinge, the said Jurye doe therefor order the present Constables, Mr Wm Byron & Mr Geo. Booth together with the assistance of Mr Richard Meare, the present Burrowreeve & Mr Henry Dickonson to take care for the present repaire, alteracion & makinge good of the said Crosse & takeinge downe any parte thereof for prevencion of danger, as in their discretion they shall thinke fitt upon the publiq charge of the towne."

1665 Apl. 4. Reference to order of 4 Oct. last & new instructions issued in very similar terms.

1669 Oct. 5. "It is ordered by the Jury that whereas the Crosse in the market stidd is in great decay that the present Constables together with the present Burrowreeve Mr Richard Meare Mr Henry Dickonson & Mr Thomas Illingworth shall take care for the repair, alteracion & makeinge good of the said Crosse as in their discretion they shall thinke fitt upon the publique charge of the towne."

1670 April 7. "Cross in great decay."—Similar order.

1670 Oct. 11. "It is ordered by the Jury that whereas there was a late order for the repaire of the Cross in Manchester now in great decay, and Nothinge done therein, this present Jury doth order that the present Constables together with the present Burrowreeve Mr Michael Buxton Mr Samuel Dickonson, Mr Wm Plungeon & Mr John Sandford shall take care for the alteracion & makeing good of the said Crosse &c. &c."

1671 Oct. 3. Similar order.

1673 Oct. 7. "ditto."

1676 Oct. 5. "Whereas several orders have been formerly made by this Court for the rebuildinge of the Crosse which have hitherto been Ineffectuall the Jury aforesaid request the Burrowreeve & Constables with Mr John Moxon, Mr Saml Dickonson, Mr Illingworth, & Mr Wm Hunter to collect & receive the contributions of the Inhabitants of this Towne and others for the rebuildinge of the said Crosse beinge soe Commendable a worke & to Dispose of the said moneys & give account thereof to the Jury at the next Michaelmas Leete."

1679 April 29. "We (the Jury) fynd the Crosse is in decay & doe order the present Constables to putt the same in order that last it was upon the Townes charge & wee do nominate Mr John Moxon Mr John Marler, Mr Thomas Drinkwater & Mr Francis Browne to bee Overseers of the said worke."

1680 Octr. 5. "Whereas the late Constables Mr Roger Makin & Mr Edward Siddall, have made a contract for the re-building of the Crosse & have paide to the workemen in order to the doeinge of the worke & for materialls to effect the same withall, the sume of £6:12:7 and have remaineinge in their hands the sume of £4:9.1½ Itt is ordered by the Jury aforesaid & this Court that the said Mr Meakin & Mr Siddall doe take care the said Contract bee performed to all Intents & purposes As if they had beene still in Office & that they take to their assistance the present Constables & that this worke bee finished with all convenient speed."

1681 April 12. "Whereas an Order was made at the last Courte Leete for the Rebuildinge of the Crosse in prosecution of former Orders & the then present Constables having Contracted with the workemen for the compleateing the same for the sume of Twelve pounds & whereas there did but remaine the sum of Eleven pounds in the said Constables hands which they have paid to the aforesaid workmen, wee do order the Constables to pay the sume of twenty shillings to make up the sume of Twelve pounds unto the workemen according to the Contract."

Mem: The *Court Leet Records, 1687 to 1731*, are lost, and the same is the case with the *Constables' Accounts* from *1648 to 1742.* With the exception of those marked *Manchester Constables' Accounts*, all the preceding extracts are culled from the *Manchester Court Leet Records*, edited by Mr. Earwaker.

1752 March 6. "A new market cross was erected from the designs of Oliver Nab."—Axon's *Annals of Manchester.*

1752 July 11.	"paid Boardman for Iron Work about ye Crosse	£1 : 7 : 7"
	paid Oliver Nabb for Massons work at the Cross	£18 : 5 : 9
	paid Thomas Wilde's Bill for Scaffolding	£2 · 15 : 9
	paid James Green for Oil - - - —	13 · 6
	paid Peter Brooks for Lead had to the Cross	£3 : 8 : 10
1754 Jan. 15.	paid John Shaw* in August last for Ale had by Massons repairing Cross - - —	5 : 6
Sep. 12.	paid James Holden repairing Cross Steps —	1 : 6
1759 Oct. 8.	paid Thomas Barrow for beautifying the Cross	£2 · 2 · 2
	paid John Townleys for Scaffolding & work done	£1 · 16 —
	paid Sam Smith for Oil Colour, Cross & Gibbet beautified - - - - -	£2 · 5 : 4

Manchester Constables' Accounts.

* Master of the famous punch-house in Smithy Door. He died 1796, aged eighty-three.

1816. The Market Cross, pillory, & Stocks were removed from the Market Place, and the Obelisk, on the site of the old Exchange, taken down. This latter was called Nathan Crompton's Folly, having been erected during his serving the office of boroughreeve (1791/2).—Axon's *Annals of Manchester.*

Feb. 20, 1816. Last week we had the pleasure of seeing the Obelisk in front of the Exchange News Room taken down and the site of the late Exchange laid open to the Market Place and Street. This improvement must give general satisfaction, as a very unsightly, because tasteless and unnecessary erection which served as a rallying post for a number of idle people has been removed and the land which was uselessly enclosed is thrown open to the street, where space, particularly on Tuesdays and Saturdays, was much wanted.—Joseph Aston, in *Manchester Herald*, 20th February, 1816.

"For more than half a cent'ry, in the street,
'Twas the fixed custom of the town to meet.
Who comfort sought for? None!—all brav'd bad weather,
And all were happy, if all wet together.
Now all men know, that I, for sixteen years (A),
Have set the town 'together by the ears;'
For when my ancient sire was taken down,
They, who of old, 'ere West was sole in cop,
Stood in the front of Matthew Travis shop (B)
Or block'd the way to Loxham's tavern door (C)."

An Heroic Epistle from the Quadruple
Obelisk in the Market Place, to the
New Exchange. Manchester 1809
Printed & Pub^d by Joseph Aston.

(A) This was written in 1809.—The obelisk was erected about 1792.

(B) Since occupied by Mr. Yates. It was a very curious old half-timbered house, richly carved on the weather boards, and the elaborated pinnacles at the points of the elevated angles. It is a matter of regret that no person took an accurate drawing of it before it was taken down, as a specimen of sixteenth century architecture.

(C) Loxhams, late Hillidges, *vice* Spencer, *vice* Loxham.

Aston's Notes to above "Epistle."

ANCIENT BEACONS OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

BY WILLIAM HARRISON.

THE year 1897 having been made memorable by a display of beacon fires throughout the country on the Diamond Jubilee day, as part of the celebration of the sixty years' reign of the Queen, it will not be inappropriate at this time to gather together what is known of the ancient beacons in our two counties.

The word "beacon," we are told by Lord Coke,* is derived from the Saxon word beacon (or, as Camden says, Beacnian), *i.e.*, speculum unde speculantur adventus hostium, and is often called signum speculatum, and he adds, "bechan" in the Saxon language is signum dare, and we use the word beckon to at this day.

Coke divides the speculi or signa speculatoria, or signa nautis, into three branches, viz., beacons, lighthouses, and sea marks. The two latter, which are simply aids to navigation, are beyond the scope of our present subject, though we may just stay to observe that in modern times the word "beacon" is often

* *Institutes*, part iv. 148.

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used as a synonym for a lighthouse. When used by Shakspere it is always, or generally, to indicate the signal fire. Thus Falstaff tells us that the sherris "illumineth the face, which as a beacon gives warning." But Tennyson evidently refers to the lighthouse when he says in *In Memoriam*:—

> My blessing, like a line of light,
> Is on the waters day and night,
> And like a beacon guards thee home.

Also when, in *The Princess*, he speaks of "The beacon-tower above the waves" against which the wild birds dash themselves dead. And again, in *Enoch Arden*, where the same sentiment is repeated, "the beacon-blaze allures the bird of passage."

Coke tells us that no person can build or erect a lighthouse, pharos, sea marks, or beacons without lawful warrant and authority; and again, that at the common law, none but the king only could erect any of these, which ever was done by the king's commission under the great seal.* Possibly this rule of law is the origin of an idea which some people hold, but for which I find no legal warrant, that there is a public right of way to every beacon. The beacon being established only by the authority of the king, the way to it is perhaps necessarily the king's highway. In this connection it may be observed that in 1765, when the land round the Everton beacon was sold by the township, a right of road to the beacon was reserved.† On the principle just mentioned, the reservation was not necessary to be expressed, but would be implied by law.

The practice of signalling the advent of the enemy by fires on the hill tops is of immemorial antiquity. It is

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* *Institutes*, iii. 204; iv. 148.
† Syer's *Everton*, 477.

referred to in Jeremiah vi. 1, "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haecerem; for evil appeareth out of the north and great destruction." And in Isaiah xxx. 17, we have the further reference, "Till ye be left as a beacon upon the top of a mountain, and as an ensign on a hill." The Greek dramatist Æschylus, in his "Agamemnon," gives a detailed and vivid picture of the transmission of the news of the fall of Troy to Argos, where the watchman is soliloquising:—

> Year after year, and night on night I keep,
> On the Atreidæ's roof, like house-dog true,
> My weary watch, and scan the host of heaven—
> Bright powers that shine along the sky, and bring
> Or summer's heat or winter's cold to men—
> Craving the gods some respite of my toil.
> And still I watch to see the beacon's blaze
> Redden the sky, and tell the welcome tale
> That Troy is fallen.

And when at last he sees the "bright torch of night," Clytemnestra, to whom he imparts the news, rushes to announce that "Troy is ours." To the question "When did Troy fall?" she replies—

> This very night it fell—
> This night that now is brightening to the dawn.

And when further questioned "Who brought these tidings with a herald's speed?" she answers—

> It is the beacon fire on Ida's crest
> By flaming convoys that hath brought the news.

And there follows a spirited and poetic description of the progress of the fiery signals by Lemnos and Athos, Asopus and Ægiplanctus to Argos.

In England beacons were no doubt used from the earliest times, though their systematic and regular em-

ployment only seems to date from the end of the twelfth century.* The system of watch and ward, developed during the reign of Henry III. and completed by Edward I., included the organisation of the coastguard,† which no doubt comprised the watching of the beacons in times of danger. Such times were not infrequent, for invasions were threatened in 1213, 1217, and 1264. Edward II., it is said, fearful of the return of his unfaithful queen and Mortimer, ordered beacons to be prepared, "that the same being fired might be seen far off, and thereby the people be raised." A tax, named beconagium, was levied for beacons or the watching of the same.‡ In 1386 the French had collected an immense fleet at Sluys for the invasion of England, and in anticipation of their landing beacons were erected.§

In 1403 an Act of Parliament ordained that the watch to be made upon the sea-coast throughout the realm should be made by the number of people, in the places and in manner and form as they were wont to be made in times past, and made applicable to this case certain provisions of the Statute of Winchester (1285) which had been originally confined to the walled towns. In the autumn of the same year (1403), invasion by marauding bands from Brittany being threatened, we find commissioners appointed to array the whole forces of several counties and to have beacons (*signa vocata Bekyns*) prepared on the hills. In December of the same year an insurrectionary force was expected to land in Essex, among a friendly population, who in anticipation

* *Social England*, i. 414.
† *Select Charters*, 362; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, ii. 285.
‡ Coke, *Institutes*, iv. 148.
§ Hartwright's *Story of the House of Lancaster*, p. 46.

carefully destroyed the beacons lately erected by special order on the hills near the shore, to prevent the alarm being given at the critical moment.*

In Scotland there was a complete system of communication by beacons or bale-fires, as they were there called, from the bales or fagots used. An Act passed in 1455 directed that one bale or fagot should be warning of the approach of the English in any manner; two bales, that they were coming indeed; and four bales, blazing beside each other, that the enemy were in great force. So Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel"—

> On Penchryst glows a bale of fire
> And three are kindling on Priesthaughswire.
> Ride out, ride out,
> The foe to scout.
> . . . . .
> Young Gilbert, let our beacon blaze
> Our kin, and clan, and friends to raise.
> . . . . .
> And soon a score of fires, I ween,
> From height and hill and cliff were seen,
> Each with warlike tidings fraught;
> Each from each the signal caught;
> Each after each they glanced to sight,
> As stars arise upon the night.

In England, the beacons were used not only to repel invasion, but also to gather forces for insurrection. During the Pilgrimage of Grace in October, 1536, "from hill to hill, from church tower to church tower the warning lights were shooting." "They streamed . . up the Ouse and Wharfe to the watershed where the rivers flow into the Irish Sea, . . . and for several days and nights there was one loud storm of bells and blaze of beacons from the Trent to the Cheviot Hills." And again at the end of November, when the negotia-

* Wylie, *Hist. Eng. under Henry IV.*, i., 386, 421.

tions seemed to have failed, "the beacons were again blazing, and the whole force of the Commons was again collecting."*

During the period covered by the calendered State papers, we find frequent references to the watching of the beacons, orders being given from time to time by the sovereign or the Privy Council to the sheriffs and justices of the peace and afterwards to the Lord Lieutenants of the counties to see to this duty being carried out. We have instances of orders, either to watch or cease watching, in 1545, 1546, 1548, and almost every year throughout the reign of Elizabeth, when the danger from Spain was ever present. We also find instances in Cheshire, in the following century, between 1625 and 1642.†

In 1666 we have another. Pepys, in his *Diary*, tells us, under date 27th June, that orders were being given to put the sea-coasts round in order, "for we have a real apprehension of the King of France's invading." The king's instructions to the Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire (the Earl of Derby) are dated 25th June.‡ They include the following: "You are to take special care and give speedy orders that your beacons be watched by sufficient persons within the respective hundreds next adjoining to the sea side, and fired as there shall be occasion."

Having regard to such instances as these, I think Macaulay was going rather beyond the fact when he stated, speaking of 1685, that "many years had now elapsed since the beacons had been lighted; and they were regarded rather as curious relics of ancient manners

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* Froude, *History*, iii., 107, 122, 123, 171.
† Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, ii. 610.
‡ *Cheshire Sheaf*, i., p. 209.

than as parts of a machinery necessary to the safety of the state."* For they have been used, at any rate prepared and watched, at much later dates. I have heard of their use during the '45; and some of the now existing beacon towers seem to have been erected about the middle of the eighteenth century. Rivington, Billinge, and Hartshead may be mentioned as examples. In 1803, when the danger of invasion by Napoleon seemed very real, signalling the appearance of the enemy by beacons or otherwise was one of the duties expressly enjoined upon the Lieutenants in each county by the Act specially passed to provide for the national defence. I find in Wheeler's *Manchester Chronicle* for that year that on the 7th October the beacons in the East Riding were to be lighted in order to ascertain whether they could communicate with each other. A few weeks later it was announced that the fire beacons and signal flags (where in particular was not stated) had been tried and found to answer completely. Signals had been communicated by their means to a distance of sixty miles in eleven minutes. In November, a list of the beacons in the West Riding was given, and on the 17th December appeared the announcement that on the following Monday night they would be lighted to try their effect. Curiously enough, although this news was given in a Manchester paper, I can find no similar intelligence as to the Lancashire and Cheshire beacons. But they, no doubt, played their part like those elsewhere. While the militia was being mustered, volunteers were being enrolled, and loyal addresses were being showered at the foot of the throne, a performance at the Manchester Theatre Royal was followed by the reciting of some patriotic lines by Mr. Bengough, in the character

* *Hist. Eng.*, ch. iii.

of a volunteer, and among them were the following, referring to Napoleon:—

> Shrouded in darkness should his legions land,
> Soon would our brave defenders crowd the strand,
> Where Pitt, with eagle eye, the coast surveys,
> Waves the tall flag, and bids the beacon blaze.

Sir Edward Coke tells us that before the reign of Edward III. the beacons consisted of stacks of wood set upon the high places, which were fired when the coming of enemies was descried, but in his reign pitch-boxes, "as now they be," were instead of these stacks of wood set up, and this properly is a beacon. In Stevenson's *History* (quoted by Scott) it is stated that the beacon was a "long and strong tree set up with a long iron pole across the head of it, and an iron brander fixed on a stalk in the middle of it for holding a tar barrel." Clarke's *New Lancashire Gazetteer* (1830)* says that the beacons used along the coast or on level ground were nothing more than strong oaken posts with a frame of ironwork at the top, calculated to receive a pot of blazing pitch; but upon the hills in the north of England they were of more durable construction, consisting of a small circular enclosure of rude stone, narrowing into a cylinder, on the summit of which was placed a hearth of flat stones to contain the fuel. Mr. Newbigging, in his *History of the Forest of Rossendale* (p. 19), states that the circular basin form, of which Thieveley furnishes a good example, was that usually adopted in the construction of the beacon bed, the centre being hollowed or scooped out and surrounded by an embankment, doubtless as a protection of the fire, to prevent its being extinguished when strong winds prevailed. Camden, in his *Britannia* (under "Hampshire"), says the beacons were used in some

* P. 147.

places by heaping up a deal of wood, in others by barrels full of pitch fastened to the top of a mast or pole in the highest places of the country, at which by night some do evermore watch; and in old time there were set up horsemen as posts in many places, whom our ancestors called "Hobelers," who in the daytime should give notice of the enemy's approach. Camden leaves us to infer that this custom had been discontinued, but it was evidently still in force in his time.

In the instructions to "Centioners," during the continuance of the French fleet upon the coast, given by Sir George Carye on the 1st September, 1596,* we find the following: *Imprimis*, that all the beacons, especially those of the east and west Forelands, be doubled, guarded with such watchmen as shall be of judgment and discretion, upon the first occasion of approach offered by the enemy to raise the "laram" by bells or hobelers, and if they shall proceed forth to landing to fire the beacons. That you appoint searchers of every beacon, diligently to attend their charge from time to time, to advertise you the centioners what shall be descried, and that upon any matter discovered you advertise me with diligence what shall be seen. That you appoint the beacons sufficiently to be supplied with fuel, and that you appoint for every "day watch a gare ready upon the first occasion to be hanged up" (a gare was probably a signal flag or something of the kind hung out by day, when the fire could not be seen).† "That you appoint some of your 'hoblers' during this time still to attend you and that their horses be always in readiness to pass in haste as occasion shall be offered." It was also ordered that for

* *Archæologia*, xiii. 100.

† Chamberlayne, in his *Present State of Great Britain*, 1723 edition, speaks of the pitch-barrels being fired by night and a smoke made by day.

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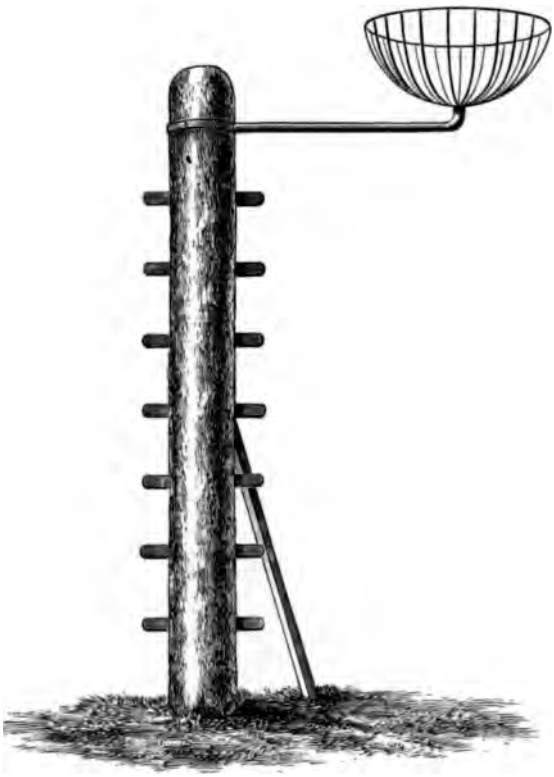
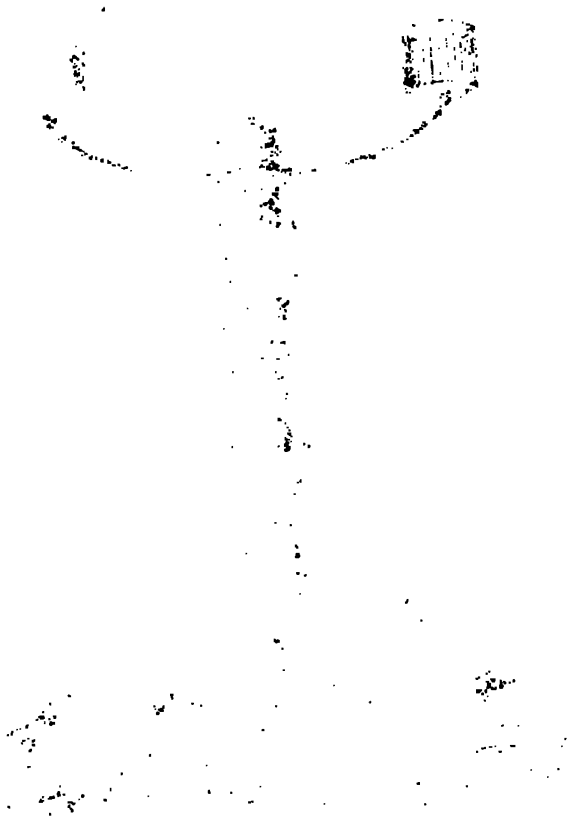
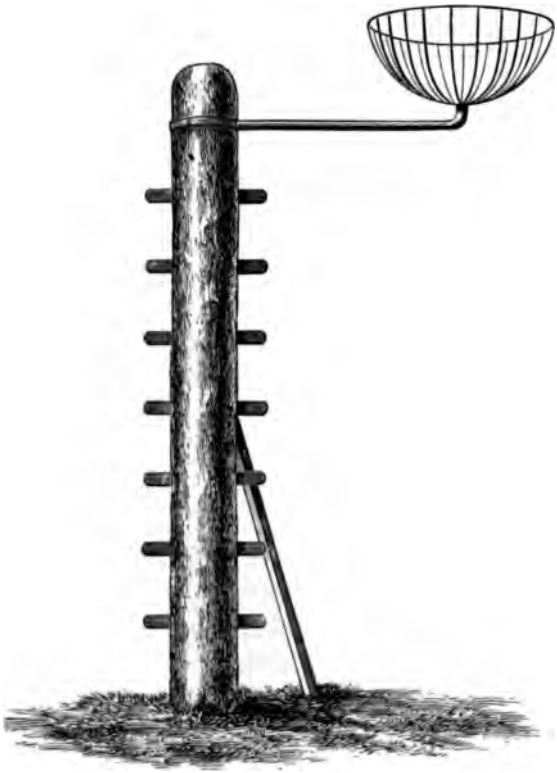
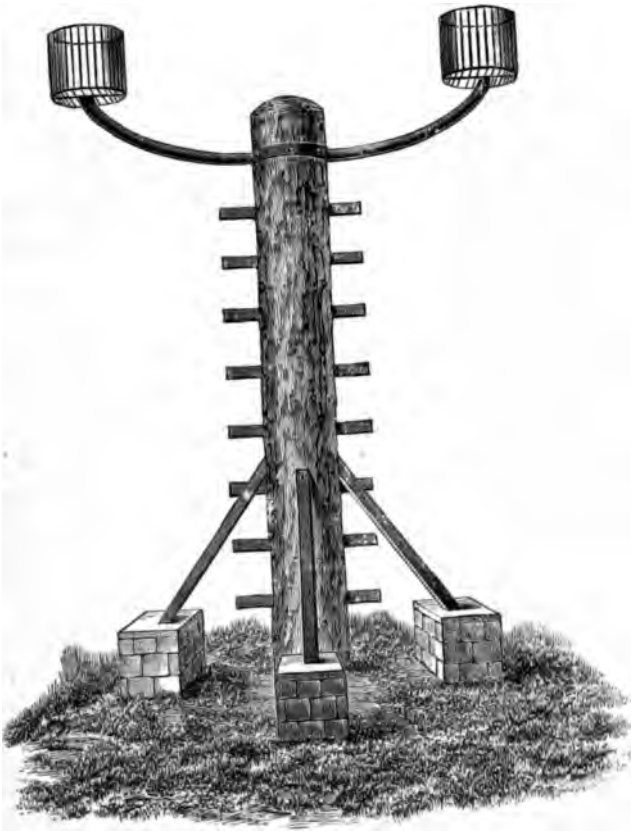


BEACON AT DIMLINGTON, EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.





BEACON AT DIMLINGTON, EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.



BEACON AT HOLME, EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

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the time no bells be rung in the churches for service, christening, or burial, and upon the "alaram" all the bells be rung out.

In the MS. of Mr. Waad, to be presently referred to, the guarders watchers of the beacons are told that "Your horsemen must be ready to give warning to the other beacons in the country, lest by weather they may be prevented that they cannot kindle fire, or else the enemy may hinder them or extinguish the fire newly kindled before the other beacons can take knowledge thereof. For it is always to be feared that the enemy will seek by all means and policy to surprise the beacons that are next to the seaside, and should give first intelligence unto the country, but also to surprise such as are appointed to guard them if their watchfulness prevent them not."

In a little tract, written prior to the Spanish attempt in 1588 by Thomas Digges, an officer under the Earl of Leicester, and entitled *A Briefe Discourse what orders were best for repulsing a Forraine Force*, it is laid down that "the accustomed order hath been by firing beacons to put the shire in arms, and presently all forces to repair to the landing place, there without delay to give them battle." And this method the writer upholds against the opinion of others who had advocated another course. Among these latter appears to have been Mr. William Waad, clerk of the Council from 1568 onwards, who, in a manuscript printed in the thirteenth volume of *Archæologia* (just one hundred years ago), puts forth "a caveat for the avoiding of that dangerous course in running to the seaside at the firing of the beacon." He on the contrary advocates places of assembly at least five or six miles from the shore, that the footmen might be put in proper order before meeting the foe. He also gives the orders for the provision and guarding of the beacons. "First,

that the beacons be provided of good matter and stuff, as well for the sudden kindling of the fires as also for the continuance thereof. That the beacons and watchplaces, appointed to give warning to the country of the landing or invasion, be substantially guarded with a sufficient company, whereof one principal person of good discretion to have the chief charge at all times of every beacon. That the beacons that are next to the seaside, and are appointed to give warning first, may be very sufficiently guarded as well with horsemen as footmen, whereof some discreet soldier or man of judgment to have the chief charge (as hath been said before), who must be very respective and careful that he give not alarm upon light matter or occasion, nothing being more dangerous than false alarms to breed a contempt and security."

This liability to false alarms, and the possibility, ever present, that an actual firing may have been inadvertent, premature, or malicious, must have always made the signalling to some extent undependable. The uncertainty finds frequent expression and is even found in the Greek play to which I have referred. When Clytemnestra has told of the news from Troy and by what means she is able to give it, the Chorus exclaims:—

> The beacons blaze, and through the city speeds
> A swift and joyous tale—who knows if true
> Or if it be some heaven-commissioned lie?

To which Clytemnestra can only reply:—

> Enough—we soon shall hear whether or no
> These bright relays of beacon fires have told
> A truthful tale; or, like some pleasing dream,
> The phantom light has but beguiled our minds.

In other words, we must wait for confirmation! On that occasion the intelligence proved correct, but in English and Scottish history there have been times when a false

alarm has been given, and the country needlessly roused. Thus on the 11th June, 1560, Sir Henry Nevell writes to Sir Thomas Bury, complaining of the alarm of the beacons on fire in the Isle of Wight and on Portsdown, and requests orders to be sent to the keepers of the beacons so that the country be not troubled with false alarms.* Again, in 1579, there was a false alarm about Portsea Down, and the Privy Council gave directions to ascertain whether it was negligently or wilfully done and punish accordingly.† In 1586 it appears that upon a casual fire in the city of Bath "the country was like to have risen (the watchers of the beacons near thereabout supposing the same to have been a beacon fire)." Special instructions were consequently given to the officers in charge to make observations and mark of the beacons on the coast so as to be able to distinguish and discern the same "that they be not deceived, and upon needless occasion move the country to rise."‡ In the same year (1586) there appears to have been a deliberate design and conspiracy to fire the beacons in Hampshire, the further objects being to redress the dearth of corn, to rob the gentlemen's houses, to prevent the sowing of woad, and to liberate the recusants at Winchester. There seems also to have been a design of the same kind in 1570, for we read of the confession of one John Jernegan relative to the firing of the beacons.§

A later instance of accidental firing was in 1804, when the beacon on Hume Castle, Berkshire, set in motion a train of fires, with the result that next morning nearly all the southern counties of Scotland were under arms, and

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* *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), Eliz.
† *Acts of Privy Council*, xi. 354.
‡ *Ibid.*, xiv. 93.
§ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), Eliz.

pouring forth to their places of rendezvous. And for still later instances we need not go further back than last June when, it will be remembered, a mischievous boy succeeded in lighting a beacon a couple of days too soon, and one near Oldham was lit on the proper day, but two hours before the time and when it was still broad daylight.

I have searched the State papers at the Public Record Office in hopes of finding full particulars of the arrangements made at the Elizabethan period for signalling from one beacon to another in Lancashire and Cheshire. In this I have been disappointed, the instructions to the Lord Lieutenant and his answers being too general. In March, 1586, the Earl of Derby writes to the Council, in answer to their questions, that there is not any fit or easy landing-place in either of these two counties, but all barred and dangerous havens, the "Peele of Fodder" only excepted, where is a decayed and ruinous pyle or castle, which was erected and maintained by the late Abbot of Furness. In answer to a further article (No. 12) he says that during this winter season it has been not altogether needful (in his opinion) to keep beacons, notwithstanding now the spring approaching they shall be, God willing, erected and carefully kept.

On the 29th February, 1588, Sir Edward Stanley (Lord Derby's deputy) wrote to the Council in regard to the two counties: "As concerning fortifications, but I find there are none at all, although I think 2 places very fit to be fortified, the one called the Hilbre in Cheshire, on the land lying betwixt the river of 'Lerpole' and Westchester, and a place very parlus if the enemy should possess it ever. The soldiers would stop our passage into Ireland." "The other place in Lancaster is called 'Pillafou,' a very good harbour and well known to the Scotch and all others that trade upon the north." "Any enemy may

land there without resistance, unless there should be some fortifications there to defend the place." This accords with the report to the Privy Council given in the same year, 1588, and found among the Burghley papers in the Lansdowne MSS.,* that between Milford Haven in Wales and Carlisle there is not one good haven for great ships to land or ride in, but one, which is the furthest part of Lancashire, called the Pylle of Folder. At this spot it was, as will be remembered, that Lambert Simnel had landed in 1487.

On the 15th June, 1588, the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Lieutenants that the King of Spain's navy was already abroad upon the seas, and "that care be had to see the beacons watched in such sort as hath been appointed.† Six days later, viz., on the 21st June, and no doubt on the receipt of these instructions, we find a letter addressed by Ferdinand Lord Strange to the justices of peace within the hundred of Salford, requiring them to cause to be made ready all such beacons as were next adjoining unto them, and the watch to be kept at every one of them.‡ It was on Friday, the 19th July following (O.S.), that the beacons actually came into use on the arrival of the enemy off the Lizard.

> Far on the deep the Spaniard saw, along each southern shire,
> Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire.

Nor was it only on the south coast. The warning was given, as Motley says, to every Englishman by "the blaze and smoke of 10,000 beacon fires, from the Land's End to Margate, and from the Isle of Wight to Cumberland."§

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* See *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, Chet. Soc., I., p. 201.
† Foljambe MSS., p. 42.
‡ *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, Chet. Soc., p. 206.
§ *History of United Netherlands*, ii. 473.

How that attempt at invasion fared we need not recount. The beacons did their part in rousing the nation, but internal defence was fortunately not needed. The English fleet, aided by the winds and waves, prevented any hostile landing.

But the danger was still not regarded as altogether over. In May, 1589, the Privy Council directs the Lord Lieutenants that the precautions taken last year were to be renewed "for the watches of the country, and the maintenance and guarding of beacons in places usual."* In December, 1589, we find on the agenda of the Council, "Beacons in Devonshire." In March, 1590, the beacons on the coast were still watched, and in October of the same year Sir Francis Drake is ordered to see to the defence of Plymouth, and the beacons are to be put up again. In August, 1599, orders are sent to several counties, including Cheshire and Lancashire, to see the beacons kept with good watches.†

Although unable to find the detailed instructions showing how the light was passed from one beacon to another, and in what order, I was fortunate enough to discover among the State papers in the Record Office a very interesting manuscript coloured map of the county sent by the Lord Lieutenant to the Privy Council in 1590 with his report on the state of the county, "both for religion and civil government." In this map an attempt is made, with fair success, to represent pictorially, though of course on a minute scale, the various great houses, churches, chapels, &c., and in some cases, though not all, the beacons are depicted. It is referred to below as "the map of 1590."

From this and various other sources I am enabled to

* Foljambe MSS., p. 62. † *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), Eliz.

enumerate the following, which comprise, I believe, most if not all of the Lancashire and Cheshire beacons. It must be borne in mind that it was not always the highest hills which were the most suitable as signalling stations. A low hill standing by itself might be quite as widely seen and more unmistakable, and at the same time much more accessible for horses and carts with fuel, and more conveniently near shelter for the watchers.

In Yates' Map of Lancashire, published in 1786, the first map of the county based on a scientific survey, there is given a diagram showing the elevations from which observations were taken and the lines of sight connecting them with each other. Although for the reason just given the points of observation chosen for such a purpose will not necessarily in all cases coincide with those found best for fire signalling, there is sure to be correspondence to a considerable extent, and we shall accordingly find the diagram helpful in going through our list of beacons. To assist in locating, I give after the name of each place the number of the sheet in the Ordnance survey of the county (six-inch scale). Each site is also shown in the accompanying map.

EVERTON (cvi.).

The beacon house or tower formerly standing here has been stated to have been erected in the year 1220, but this appears to be the merest supposition, resting on no evidence whatever. Syers, in his *History of Everton*, points out (what we have already stated) that before the reign of Edward III. beacons were but stacks of wood. The site may, of course, have been used for the purpose time after time.

The building known as the beacon was a plain, square, stone edifice or tower, two storeys in height, no way

remarkable as to the style or solidity of its structure. A flight of narrow and inconvenient stone steps led to the upper apartment, and a similar flight to the roof or terrace platform. On one of the angles a stone receptacle rose above the roof wherein were placed combustible materials.

During a stormy night, in the early part of the year 1803, it was blown down in consequence of the walls having been undermined.

In the following year (1804) a signal station was established by government close by.*

In Yates' map the lines of sight from Everton are to Formby Land Mark, Aughton Moss Mill, Billinge Beacon, Prescot Spire, and Woolton Summer House. Ashurst Beacon would also be visible, and the fires would doubtless communicate also with those in Wirral, and directly or indirectly with Moel Famma and other Welsh heights.

Ashurst Beacon (xcii.).

Baines † states that this beacon was erected during the French revolutionary wars. This must be understood to mean the present tower, which, it is added, is formed of strong masonry, with the entire absence of any material in its composition that is inflammable. The site was, no doubt, used for beacon purposes at a much earlier period. Baines adds, in his usual turgid style, "fortunately the torch was never lighted, and the women of England, who for seven centuries have never seen the smoke of a foreign enemy's camp, were not doomed to see the light even of their own beacon." The latter omission, I may add, was rectified in 1887 and 1897.

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* Syer, 57, 58, 60; *Gent. Mag. Libr. Top.*, vi. 264.
† Croston's ed., iv. 297.

The tower is used as a sea-mark by vessels entering Liverpool harbour from the north.*

Ashurst Beacon is so named in Yates' map of 1786, and the lines of sight there shown are to Billinge Beacon, Billinge Hill (Blackburn), Rivington Pike, Kirkham Old Mill, Aughton Moss Mill, Leigh Church, and Prescot Spire. To these, no doubt, Everton Beacon might be added.

BILLINGE BEACON (ci.).

Billinge is a hill a little south of Ashurst, commanding an extensive prospect west, south, and east. Aikin (p. 296) mentions that it was in his time crowned by an old beacon. Baines† states that it is a square, stone building erected as a sea-mark "about a century ago."

Yates' map shows "Billinge Beacon," and the lines of sight in his diagram extend to Ashurst Beacon, Everton Beacon, Winter Hill, Know Hill, Halton Castle (Cheshire), Hill Cliff (Cheshire), Formby Land Mark, Aughton Moss Mill, Leigh Church, and Prescot Spire.

WOOLTON (cxiv.).

There is a "Beacon Hill" here. Woolton Summer-house, too, is one of the points used by Yates. The name "Beaconsfield" appears on the Ordnance map to the north of Much Woolton.

RIVINGTON PIKE (lxxxvi.).

This peak is described by Leland as bearing the name of Faierlokke (? Fair-look), but he says "commonly thereabouts the people calleth it Riven-pike." It is one

* Clarke's *Lanc. Gazetteer*, 7.
† Croston's edition iv. 308.

thousand one hundred and ninety-three feet above sea-level, and commands a very wide range of country, though overlooked on the east by Winter Hill. It was used as a beacon in the time of Elizabeth. In the *Lancashire Lieutenancy* (Chet. Soc., vol. xlix.-l.), p. 207, we have a note of the cost of watching this beacon in 1588, from the 10th July to the 30th September, four-score and two days, at sixteen pence the day and night, which totalled up to £5. 9s. 4d. This is apportioned among three divisions of Salford Hundred. In the following year, when as we have seen the beacons were still watched, the account of Sir John Byron, a deputy-lieutenant of the county, includes "Paid for erecting a beacon, £20," and paid "at two several times for repairing and keeping the beacon at Rivington Pike, £5. 7s. 4d."

The beacon at present consists of a stone tower, seventeen feet square. It bears the date 1733, in which year it appears to have been built by John Andrews, of Little Lever and Rivington.

Preparations were made to use the beacon in 1803, but the necessity for its use never arose.*

The lines of sight, as shown by Yates, were to the neighbouring Winter Hill, and to Ashurst Beacon, Billinge Beacon, Aughton Moss Mill, Kirkham Old Mill, and the churches of Preston, Leigh, and Manchester.

WINTER HILL (lxxviii.).

This is only a short distance from Rivington Pike, which it dominates, intercepting also its view to the north and east. Yates used it as a point for taking

* Baines, *Hist. Lanc.* (Croston), iii. 229.

observations in those directions, to Billinge Hill (Blackburn), Pendle Hill, Boulsworth Hill, and Know Hill, as well as to Rivington Pike and the churches at Preston and Leigh. Mr. Harland* seems to be of opinion that the two heaps of stone, called the "Two Lads," on Wilder's Moor (some distance south of the summit of Winter's Hill), which were of solid masonry, and resembled huge cylinders, were the remains of beacons similar to those described above (p. 23).

HARTSHEAD PIKE (xcvii.).

This hill is nine hundred and forty-four feet above sea-level, and lies between Oldham and Mossley. Aikin† says it had been formerly used as a beacon, and there were others in the neighbourhood to answer it. According to Baines,‡ the conical-shaped tower of stone was erected in 1751, having a vane at its apex in the form of a hart's head. On the western side of the tower the following lines were inscribed:—

> Look well at me before you go,
> And see you nothing at me throw.
> This Pike was rebuilt by Publick Contributions Anno Do. 1751.

In 1794 the tower became rent from top to bottom, and in a few years afterwards it fell into ruins.

In 1863 the present tower was built to commemorate the marriage of the Prince of Wales.

Mr. S. Andrew states that the foundations of the old tower still remain a little to the north of the present building.

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* *Lancashire Lieutenancy*, p. 207.
† Pp. 231, 232.
‡ Croston's ed., ii. 333.

Blackstone Edge (lxxxi.).

I find no mention of this hill as a beacon, except by Harrison Ainsworth in his romance of *The Lancashire Witches*. It was, however, used as a point of observation by Yates to Pendle Hill, Know Hill, and Manchester Old Church.

Knowl or Knoll Hill (lxxx.).

This hill, nearly one thousand four hundred feet high, lies to the north-west of Rochdale, and is shut out from the north by the superior height of Whittle Pike. Yates marks it as communicating with Blackstone Edge, Winter Hill, Billinge Beacon, and the churches of Manchester and Leigh.

Hades Hill (lxxxi.).

On the top of this hill, which lies to the north of Rochdale, are, says Whitaker,* the remains of a large beacon with the foundations of a circular enclosure. This and Thieveley Pike appear, he adds, to have formed the connecting links between Pendle Hill and Bucton Castle.

Brown Wardle (lxxxi.).

Mr. Grindon, in *Country Rambles*, calls Brown Wardle famous, like Bucton Castle, as an ancient signal station. He does not give his authority, but Whitaker, I notice, suggests a derivation from Wardhull, a place where watch and ward was kept.

Worsthorne Moor (lxiv.).

Whitaker mentions this as one of the places where remains of beacons are to be seen.

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* *Hist. Whalley*, 4th ed., ii. 455.

WHITTLE PIKE (lxxx.).

This attains an elevation of more than one thousand five hundred feet, and lies on the east side of the Irwell valley, opposite Ramsbottom.

"It exhibits," says Baines,* "the remains of a beacon, erected probably in the time of Queen Elizabeth." "The preparations at Bologne, under the Emperor Napoleon," were not, it is added, "sufficiently formidable to rescue the rude structure on Whittle Pike from the ruin to which it is fast hastening."

THIEVELEY PIKE (lxiv.).

This is situate between Bacup and Burnley, and has an elevation of one thousand two hundred and twenty-two feet. According to Mr. Newbigging,† the beacon is quite distinct, and is a complete circle in the form of a basin, the circumference round the centre of the embankment being about eighty feet. Many of the stones within the ring and in the immediate vicinity bear evident marks of having been charred or scorched by fire.

BONFIRE HILL (lvi.).

This is to the east of Burnley, and is over one thousand feet in height. Its name points to its use as a beacon, and Whitaker describes it as one.

PIKE LAW (lvi.).

This is in the same neighbourhood, and is nearly one thousand one hundred feet in height. Mr. Wilkinson considered it had been used as a beacon.‡

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* Croston's ed., iii. 119.
† *History of Forest of Rossendale*, 2nd ed., 19.
‡ Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, ix. 34.

Boulsworth Hill (lvii.).

This is situated to the north-east of Burnley on the Yorkshire border, and attains a height of one thousand seven hundred feet. It is marked on Yates' diagram as communicating with Pendle Hill, Billinge Hill (Blackburn), and Winter Hill. Whitaker describes it as a beacon.

Billinge Hill (Blackburn) (lxii.).

This lies immediately to the west of Blackburn, and, according to Yates, its lines of sight lead to Ashurst Beacon, Winter Hill, Boulsworth Hill, Pendle Hill, Parlick Pike, and Preston Church.

Pendle Hill (xlvii.).

This well-known hill stands one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one feet above sea-level, and is so widely seen that its value as a beacon station could not be overlooked. Whitaker refers to it as such,* and Harrison Ainsworth begins his *Lancashire Witches* by a graphic description of the firing of the beacon here in November, 1536, by Abbot Paslew. On the map of 1590 the beacon sign is unmistakable. Pendle would undoubtedly communicate northwards with Ingleborough. In Yates' map of 1786 the lines of sight are to Ingleborough, Clougha, Parlick Pike, Kirkham Old Mill, Billinge Hill (Blackburn), Winter Hill, Boulsworth Hill, and Blackstone Edge, and the churches at Preston and Manchester.

Portfield Camp (lv.).

This in the time of the Romans was, according to the Rev. R. N. Whitaker,† the fire or beacon station of Whalley.

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* Whalley, ii. 223, 455.
† *Handbook of Whalley.*

LONGRIDGE FELL (xlvi.).

The map of 1590 shows the sign of a beacon at a place unnamed, but which from the position must be one of the summits of Longridge Fell. Yates' map shows three beacons close together on Longridge Fell, and the six-inch Ordnance map names "High Beacon," at an elevation of about one thousand one hundred and twenty-five feet, at the eastern end of the ridge.

KIRKHAM (MILL HILL) (lx.).

This may have been used for beacon purposes, owing to the absence of anything of greater height, since in a plain any slight elevation is of service. "Kirkham Old Mill" is a point in Yates' diagram, communicating with Preesal, Parlick Pike, Pendle Hill, Rivington Pike, Ashurst Beacon, Aughton Moss Mill, and Preston and North Meols churches.

BEACON FELL (OR BEATON FELL) (xlv.).

This is an elevation (eight hundred and seventy-four feet high) a few miles south-east of Garstang, and its name sufficiently indicates its former use. It is shown in the map of 1590 as a beacon.

PARLICK PIKE (xlv.).

This attains to an elevation of one thousand four hundred and sixteen feet, and is to the north-east of Beacon Fell. Its communications, as shown in Yates' map, are with Billinge Hill (Blackburn), Pendle Hill, Clougha, Preesall Mill, Kirkham Old Mill, and Preston Church.

PREESALL HILL (xxxviii.).

This is a hill of no great elevation (about one hundred feet), but conspicuous from its position in the low-lying Fylde country, near the mouth of the Wyre. It is marked "Priso hil," with the sign of a beacon, in the map of 1590. Yates' diagram shows "Preesal Mill" as communicating with Kirkham Old Mill, Parlick Pike, Clougha, Lancaster Church, Mount Barnet, and Piel Castle.

CLOUGHA (xxxv).

This is a hill one thousand three hundred and twenty-five feet high, immediately to the south-east of Lancaster, and overlooking that town. It is in the map of 1590 named "Claighoe" and marked with the beacon sign.

I do not know whether or not Macaulay had any historical warrant for his statement that "Skiddaw saw the light that burned on Gaunt's embattled pile." Chancellor Ferguson* says it is doubtful whether Skiddaw ever played any great part as a beacon. Lancaster antiquaries also incline to think that we have here only the license of the poet, and that if there were any light on John of Gaunt's tower it would be merely a cresset, scarcely big enough to be visible to the observer on Skiddaw. If this be true it is to Clougha we must look as supplying the needful illumination to the northern height, though, as we shall see, there were probably several stages to be passed on the way, Its lines of sight, as shown by Yates, extend to Warton Crag, Ingleborough, Pendle Hill, Parlick Pike, Kirkham Old Mill, Preesal Mill, and Lancaster Church. Clougha was

* Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc., xiv. 141.

visited in 1803 by Prince William of Gloucester on his tour of inspection of the northern defences.

WARTON CRAG (xviii.).

This is a few miles north of Lancaster, on the shores of Morecambe Bay, five hundred and thirty-four feet high. It is marked as a beacon on the map of 1590 and in the six-inch Ordnance map. Baines* states that an ancient beacon formerly stood near the summit, which communicated with Ingleborough, and some remains of which still point out the site. Its lines of sight, as shown on Yates' diagram, extend to Clougha, Ingleborough, Gummer's How, Coniston Old Man, Mount Barnet, Piel Castle, and Lancaster Church. Northwards the signal would be taken on by Farleton Knot (Westmorland), and so by Whinfell and Orton Scar to Penrith Beacon and Carlisle.

ALDINGHAM (xxii.).

West, in his *Antiquities of Furness*,† states that Furness is surrounded with beacons, but whether they be ancient or modern cannot be determined, since they were in use amongst the Britons before the coming of the Romans. The only instance he gives, however, is the "Moot," at Aldingham, which he says might have been such, as it commands a view of the coast and the bay of Morecambe, and might give notice to the station at Lancaster of any shipping on its first appearance in the bay, and also receive the alarm from that quarter; but, in after times, it had been converted into a moot hill by the Saxon lord of Aldingham.

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* Croston's edition, v. 515.
† Close's ed., p. 11.

PIEL CASTLE (xxviii.).

This is included by Mr. H. Swainson Cowper in his list of the North Lonsdale beacons.* It would, he says, be kept up by the Abbot of Furness. Yates' diagram shows it as communicating with Preesal Mill, Lancaster Church, Ingleborough, Warton Crag, Mount Barnet, and Coniston Old Man.

RAMPSIDE (xxviii.).

This is on the mainland, opposite Piel, and is in Mr. Swainson Cowper's list.

GLEASTON (xxii.).

This is given by Mr. Swainson Cowper, who states that it would be kept up by the lords of Muchland.

CONISTON OLD MAN (iv.).

On the summit of this hill was formerly a beacon,† as might indeed be expected from its exceptionally conspicuous position. In Yates' map its lines of sight, so far as Lancashire is concerned, are to Ingleborough, Gummer's How, Warton Crag, Mount Barnet, and Piel Castle. It would, no doubt, communicate with other beacons in Cumberland, including probably Muncaster Fell, Black Combe, and Newton Knott, near Ravenglass.

LOWICK BEACON (xi.).
BLAWITH (near Beacon Tarn) (vii.).
FURNESS ABBEY (xxi.).
FELL END, CARTMEL (one mile east of the Priory) (xvii.).
WALNEY ISLAND (THE BROW) (xxi.).

These are given by Mr. Swainson Cowper, apparently

* Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc., xiv. 142.
† Clarke's *Lanc. Gazetteer*, 39; Baines (Croston), v. 610.

on the sole authority of the Ordnance map, on which they are marked in ordinary letters "Beacon" or "Beacon hill;" these being the popular names.

HIGH HAUME, NEAR IRELETH (?) (xvi.).

Here there is, says Mr. Swainson Cowper, a singular mound, ditched round, which seems to have had a building on it.

GUMMERS HOW (viii.).

This is a hill at the foot of Windermere, one thousand and fifty-four feet high. It is shown by Yates as communicating with Ingleborough, Warton Crag, Mount Barnet, and Coniston Old Man. It was used as a beacon in 1887.

MOUNT BARNARD (xvii.).

A mile or so west of Cartmel is Mount Barnard, a hill five hundred feet in height. It is described by Yates as Mount Barnet, and shown as communicating with Coniston Old Man, Gummers How, Ingleborough, Warton Crag, Lancaster Church, Preesal Mill, and Piel Castle.

Among the beacon sites not mentioned above, but used in the Jubilee celebration of 1887 were SINGLETON PARK, Poulton le Fylde; WHALLEY NAB; RAVENSBARROW, Grange; HOAD HILL, Ulverston; NOOKS, near Hawkshead; RIFLE RANGE, near Hawkshead; SCALE IVY, Sawrey Knott; GRISEDALE HILL, between Esthwaite and Coniston; YEWBARROW, Grange; HAWKSHEAD MOOR, COLTON HEIGHTS, DARWEN MOOR, HAMBLEDON HILL, KEMPLE END, HANOCK HILL, HUNTER'S HILL, and PARBOLD HILL. If the authority of a romance be accepted, we may add to the list IGHTENHILL, PADIHAM

HEIGHTS, TRAWDEN FOREST, FOULRIDGE, CLITHEROE, and RIBCHESTER, all mentioned in the *Lancashire Witches.**

It will have been noticed that, in the absence of suitable hill tops, the towers of churches were made use of by Yates for the purpose of his observations in 1786, those at Manchester, Leigh, Prescot, Preston, and Lancaster being shown in his diagram. These may not have been used as beacons. Macaulay is, however, probably correct in describing how "the star came forth on Ely's stately fane," for in a level country like that of the fens resort to the church towers would be a necessity. York Minster certainly figures in the list of beacon sites in 1803, and probably many another high tower was similarly used in older days.

CHESHIRE.

I have found a remarkable dearth of information as to the locality of the Cheshire beacons, though many far-seen elevations must have been used for the purpose.

There were some at the western side of the county in the time of Henry IV., for the Recognizance Rolls of Chester for 1403-4 set forth a commission to Richard de Cholmondeley, Philip de Egerton, Thomas de Brereton, John de Lee of Egge, and others, to overlook the watches in the hundred of Broxton, so that no danger might happen through defect of the same; also to see that beacons were erected in the accustomed places to warn the country of the coming of an enemy.† Similar precautions were at

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* Becconsall, near the confluence of the Douglas with the Ribble, is supposed to have been originally Beacon's Hill (Baines, iv. 160).

† *Thirty-sixth Rep. of Dep. Keeper of Public Records*, App. ii., p. 108.

the same time taken as regards Wirral Hundred.* The enemy in these cases was Welsh.

ALDERLEY EDGE (xxviii.).

Alderley Beacon is named (and is the only beacon named) in Saxton's Map of Cheshire, 1578. Webb, in his account of Cheshire (1621), in speaking of Alderley, says: "More conspicuous is this place by the beacon, mounted upon an eminent hill over the town. A device which, in that and other high places in all counties in England, used in times past, and may be again, if God be not more merciful than we deserve, of great purpose in time of invasions or insurrections." The late Mr. Earwaker states† that in a MS. volume in his possession, containing orders and directions for the militia of Cheshire, from 1625 to 1642, there is occasional mention of this beacon, with charges for keeping it in repair, watching it, &c., showing it was then in constant use. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was "a hollow square room with a door, and having an iron pot kept in it for the purpose of holding pitch and tar." About 1779 it was altered, and the square room covered in with a sharp-pointed roof. In 1804 it was visited by the Duke of Gloucester, the commander-in-chief of the district, to decide whether it could be used or not. The view from it is now much obscured by the trees which have grown on the hill.

BEACON HILL, FRODSHAM (xxxii.).

Here the name of the hill has preserved the memory of its use. It is said that, until recent times, might be

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* Wylie, *Hist. England under Hen. IV.*, ii. 3.
† *East Cheshire*, ii. 610.

seen marks to guide the eye of the watchers to a corresponding beacon on Mow Cop and to others in Lancashire, Shropshire, and North Wales. In the church books at Frodsham is the following entry: "1613 Laid down to Robert Caweworth and Richard Hicksone for the making and setting up of the beacon at the request of Sir John Savage made by Mr. Nuttall which is to be repaid again to the parish $00^{£}$ xvj^{s} 00^{d} ".*

Mow Cop (li.).

This hill has just been mentioned in connection with Frodsham, that being the only allusion I have found to its use as a beacon.

Shutlings Low (xliv.).

This is described as an old beacon station in the Report for 1881 of the Manchester Scientific Students' Association, and its exceptional advantages for such a purpose are not likely to have been overlooked; but I have found no other authority.

Bucton (iii.).

Whitaker in his *History of Whalley*† alludes to this as a beacon, and it is generally believed to have been such.

Caldy Hill (xii.).

On this hill, just overlooking West Kirby, the Ordnance map shows "Beacon Hill" and "Beacon." This was no doubt one of the beacons in Wirrall referred to above as in use *temp.* Henry IV.

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* *Man. Weekly Times*, June 2nd, 1893.
† ii. 455.

HESWALL HILL (xxii.).

At this point also the Ordnance map shows "The Beacons."

In the absence of authentic information as to other beacons in Cheshire, I can only enumerate the places likely to have been so used, viz.:—

HALTON CASTLE (xxiv.).
MALPAS HILL (lx.).
BIDSTON HILL (xiii.).
HILL WARREN, Appleton (xvi.).

The above were used at the celebration in 1887.

BEESTON HILL (xlvii.).
PECKFORTON HILL (xlvii.).
BURWARDSLEY HILL (liv.).
HART HILL (liv.).
BICKERTON HILL (liv.).
MAIDEN CASTLE (liv.).
BULKELEY HILL (liv.).
BILLINGE, near Tarporley (xl.).
EDISBURY (xl.).
HELSBY HILL (xxxii.).
WHALEY MOOR (xxix.).
MARPLE RIDGE (xx.).
WERNETH LOW (xi.).
THE NAB, near Bollington (xxix.).
WHITE NANCY, near Bollington (xxix.).

BEACONS IN ADJOINING COUNTIES.

Although each county was, in regard to its beacons, under the separate direction of its own Lord Lieutenant, the interests of the nation at large would require some

co-ordination with the neighbouring counties, so that the signals could be carried on rapidly and accurately from one end of the kingdom to the other. The following list shows some at least of the neighbouring beacons which would be in communication with those near the borders of Lancashire and Cheshire:—

CUMBERLAND: Black Combe, Muncaster Fell, Newton Knott, Skiddaw, and Penrith.

WESTMORLAND: Farleton Knott and Whinfell Beacon.

YORKSHIRE: Ingleborough; Stoodley Pike; Grindleton Fell, near Clitheroe; Pinnow, near Skipton; Gray Scar, near Ingleton; Hagg Hill, near Long Preston; Pule Hill. The five last named were prepared for use in 1803.

DERBYSHIRE: Charlesworth Combes, Cobden Edge, Chinley Churn, Axe Edge.

STAFFORDSHIRE: The Cloud; Talk; The Roaches; Biddulph Moor; Ashley Hill.

SHROPSHIRE: Hawkstone; The Wrekin.

FLINT and DENBIGH: Moel Famma.

UNIV. OF MICH.

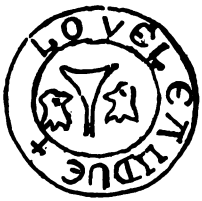

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

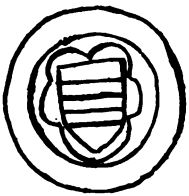

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

FIG. 3

DEEDS RELATING TO EARLY TENURES OF LAND, &c., IN MINSHULL VERNON AND ADJACENT TOWNSHIPS IN CHESHIRE.

BY FRANK RENAUD, M.D., F.S.A.

WHEN, in the preceding volumes of *Transactions*, an account was published of the families of Foxwist and Duncalf, the investigation brought to light many deeds in connection with their former territorial interests in the hitherto scantily recorded history of Minshull Vernon and townships adjacent, all of which were surrendered when Foxwist estate passed from the family of Duncalf to that of Legh in the reign of Elizabeth.

To supply this deficiency in some measure, and with a view to enable any future historian of the county to make them available, these deeds, to the number of thirty-three, dating from the reign of Henry III. onwards to that of Henry VIII., which have hitherto remained dormant, have now been collated, arranged chronologically, and abbreviated, nothing essential having been omitted.

For purposes of the present inquiry Minshull, Minshull Vernon, and Church Minshull may all three be accounted one district, manor, and parish, situate about midway

between Middlewich and Crewe, in the hundred, deanery, and barony of Nantwich, within which, *inter alia*, the monks of St. John of Jerusalem held a grange. In early deeds Minshull is variously written as Minshule, Munshull, Minschulf, Munchulf, and Munsehillf. The suffix was added after Vernon, baron of Shipbrook, became superior lord. The elder branch of the family of Minshull having failed in heirs male at an early date, the inheritance became divisible amongst heirs female, who intermarried with the families of Oulton, Hulgreave, Erdeswick, and others, though a junior branch carried down the name, at Minshull, into the reign of Elizabeth. From an antiquarian standpoint the deeds now under consideration derive their value as casting light on names of early tenants, names of witnesses, and as filling in a gap in Cheshire history and topography. They are as follows:—

HENRY III.—1270.

Thomas son of Peter de Warinhull quitclaimed for himself and heirs saltworks lying between those of Alexander Oribet and Thomas de Menwaring in Middlewich, which he himself and his father had held as tenants of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in consideration of a money payment of three marks, together with a reserved annual rent of three shillings and ten pence to the Hospital due at Michaelmas. Witnesses: Sir Thomas de Menwarin, Sir Richard de Wilbram then sheriff of Cheshire, Sir Richard de Hale, Warin de Croxton, Richard Dudley, Alexander Alexander and Peter, Ralph Hargene, Bate Malbul, Orach de Conache priest, and others.*

* In this deed the earliest mention of the family of Warinhull is recorded, viz., that of Peter, father of Thomas. The name is found written as Warinhull, Warihull, and Waryhull. Richard's name occurs as witness to a deed in the 4 Edward III., and also as one of the farmers of Middlewich. Robert was Chamberlain of Chester in the 6 Henry VI., and in the 9 Henry VIII. William of Middlewich suffered a recovery of a messuage, &c.

EDWARD I.

Richard lord of Munshillf granted to Henry son of Mococ of Minshul a messuage in Munchulf with a garden and curtilage (*i.e.*, garden produce) and other appurtenances in Longsowons save and except what was due to the Monks and Lords Spiritual to hold the same to himself and his heirs. Witnesses: Thomas de Erdeswike, Harold de Munchulf, Ralph de Sprorstoke, Robert the Chorister in the Choir at Chester, William his brother, and others (coressicant).*

1 EDWARD II.

John de Legh gave and granted to Robert his son and his heirs all of his possessions in Middlewich. Failing Robert and his heirs lawfully begotten, to William his brother in like manner, rendering accustomed service to the superior lord. Failing both, these possessions to revert to himself. Witnesses: Sir Robert de Holand then Justice of Cheshire, Sir John Arderne, Sir Ralph de Vernon, Sir Peter de Dutton, Richard de Fouleshurst then Sheriff of Cheshire, Ralph de Vernon, Robert de Masey, Thomas de Legh, William de Baghiley, Roger de Leycester, Roger de Toft, Robert de Cundaelif priest, and others. Seal, a lion rampant, circumscription illegible.†

William the son of Philip (de Munshul) and Mabel (Erdeswik) his wife granted to Harold son of Gilbert de Munschull an acre of land and place called Reginaldhay, with water rights, in exchange for Longhay with like water rights. Witnesses: Richard de Fouleshurst sheriff of Cheshire, Robert de Bulkelegh vicar of Munschul priest of Erdeswike, John de Eldoctone priest (Occleston ?), and many others. Seal, the

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* Was not the above-named Richard the younger son of Matthew de Hulgreve to whom his father gave a grant of Erdeswick ?

† Richard de Foulehurst was sheriff in 1307.

lamb and crucifix used by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.*

EDWARD II.

Alice daughter of Harold de Minshull of Minshull covenanted in the year 1308 at Pentecost with her father to let to farm a place called Mere for thirty years at an annual rental of twelve pennies, but upon condition that should the said Alice be married or espoused the same should revert to her. Witnesses: Richard lord of Munschull, Randle de Spurstowe, William son of Philip de Munschul, William de Dutton, William son of Thomas de Munschull, and others.

William de Ducton of Munshull granted to William son of Philip de Munschull and to Mabel his wife the half of a place of land in Minshull called Ganisles End, and an assart in another butt of land in the same town called the Werebin, together with his part of Okalerbroken de Calvestegrenes in the same vill, also a certain selion of land in the same called Hertesbut, and another called le Hadland adjoining a field called Echeles, in exchange for other portions lying between his land and that of Randle de Spurstowe. In testimony of which William and Mabel set their seals to one part, whilst the other remained in possession of William Dutton. Witnesses: Richard de Foulehurst then Sheriff of Cheshire, Robert de Bulkelegh, Richard de Minshull, Thomas de Ereswick, Martin de Hulgreve, John de Aldington, and others. Given at Minshull on Thursday next after the festival of the purification of the Virgin Mary in the seventh year of the reign of King Edward son of King Edward.

SAME DATE.

William son of Philip de Munschull and Mabel his wife granted to Harold son of Gilbert of the same a tenement and

* Richard de Foulehurst was sheriff for the second time in 1320.

an acre and a half of land bounded on one side by the Hende and the Celihurst, and on the other by the Hancursclough and the road going to Honne, to be held by accustomed service. Witnesses: Richard de Foulehurst at that time Sheriff, Robert de Bulkilegh, Richard de Minshull, John de Oldingtone, Hardinge the priest, and others. Seals: St. John of Jerusalem, and an oval seal bearing a star of eight points, circumscribed but illegible.

5 Edward II.

William, son of John de Minshull by charter confirmed to Henry son of Mocok of Minshull his waste land in Minshull then held by Richard le Wyse to descend to his heirs and assigns by accustomed services. Witnesses: Richard de Foulehurst then Sheriff, Richard Lord of Minshull, Thomas de Erdiswike, Ralph de Spurstow, William de Dutton. Given at Minshull on Monday following the festival of Ascension in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward son of Edward.

8 Edward II.

William son of Philip de Munchulf granted to Henry son of Mokok of Munchulf and to his heirs a portion of his lands by render of a red rose annually to the chief lord of the fee. Witnesses: Robert de Bulkeley Sheriff of Cheshire, Richard de Munschulf, Ralph de Epinstoll, William de Dutton, Mala de Munchulf, and others. Given at Munchulf on Monday next after the festival of St. Barnabas in the eighth year of the reign of Edward son of King Edward I.

Edward II.—1325.

Thomas son of Richard de Minshull quitclaimed to John de Oldenton and his heirs a portion of land and waste adjacent to Varnhale which he stood possessed of "ex dimissione" of his father. Witnesses: John de Wetenhale, John de Wrennebury, Thomas de Erdeswyke, Ralph de Spurstowe, William

son of Philip (Minshull), William de Dutton. Given at Aston on Sunday next before the festival of Pope Gregory, 1325. Seal of Lovell,* superior lord of the fee (fig. 1).

9 EDWARD III.

Mabel who was the wife of William Silcox quitclaimed to William the son of Henry Mokok of Minshull and to his heirs and assigns her hereditary possession of one messuage, two crofts, and two pennies in Church Minshull, which William her son gave in exchange to William son of Henry Mokoc his heirs and assigns in exchange for one messuage, one croft, and seven pennies in the same. Witnesses: William de Cotton of Minshull, Ralph de Pull, Thomas de Sporstoke, Richard Harald of Minshull, and Ralph his brother.

19 EDWARD III.

William son of William Pilkoc of Minshulf confirmed to William son of Henry Nokoc of Minshulf by charter one messuage, two crofts, and two butts and a half of land in Churchemunshulf, lying between the lands of Richard Harald on the one part and those which Henry de Bruche held on lease from William son of William Pilkoc on the other, and another croft lying between the highway on one side and the land of Richard Harald on the other called the Hertebrittes in the Chirchefeld in a part named the Cokeshote, in exchange for one messuage, one wood, and seven butts of land in the same ville. Witnesses: Thomas de Cranswyk, John de Wetenhul of Munschulf, Ralph de Pulle, William de Cotton of Munschulf, Thomas de Sprostoke, Richard Harald of Munschulf, Ralph his brother, and others.

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* The earliest date at which the name of Lovel occurs as superior lord, in Dr. Ormerod's *Cheshire*, is the 37 Edward III. The progenitor of this family came to England with the Conqueror, and was known as Ascelin Souel de Percival, but from the violence of his conduct got to be called Lupus (wolf). His son and successor was nicknamed Lupelus. In the third generation this was softened down to Lupel, and by a yet further transition became Luvel and Lovel (Banks' *Baronage*).

23 EDWARD III.

John de Oulton quitclaimed to his brother David* de Oulton and his heirs all rights he had in lands and tenements in the Lightaspes in Church Minshull. Witnesses: Thomas Danyers sheriff of Cheshire, John de Wetenhale, Richard de Minshull, William de Minshull, William Hamelyn, and others. Given at Oulton on Sunday next after the festival of St. Luke the Apostle in the 23 Edward III. Seal of John de Olton (fig. 2).

23 EDWARD III.

William de Holt confirmed by charter to Richard son of Harald of Minshull and Alice his wife all the lands and tenements with appurtenances in Churchminshull which he had of the gift and feoffment of the said Richard, save what was due to the lord of the fee. If it happened that Richard and Alice died without lawful heirs the same were to pass to William their son on a like tenure, failing this, they were to pass to Macill their daughter, and failing Macill and her heirs to Emma her sister in like manner, and failing this they were to pass in their entirety to the right heirs of the said Richard to be held of the capital lord of the fee. Witnesses: Richard de Wevere, Ralph de Oldington, William de Minshull, Thomas de Spurstowe, Richard de Dutton, and others.

24 EDWARD III.

David de Elton son of Richard de Elton gave by Charter to Nicholas Pagun and Richard his brother, their heirs and assigns, Lightaspes in Churchminshull together with all the lands and tenements of which he stood possessed in Church Minshull to be held by the accustomed services. Witnesses: Sir Hugh de Venables, Peter de Thornton, Richard de Wynynton, Knights, John de Watonhala then seneschall of

* David's name omitted in Oulton pedigree.

Vale Royal Abbey, John de Elton, and others. Given at Darnhale on friday after the festival of Saint Mary Magdalene, 24 Edward III.

25 EDWARD III.

Nicholas Pagun and Ralph Pagun his brother let out to farm to the Abbot and Convent of Vale Royal and their successors all that parcel of land and wood with houses already erected and to be built called Lyhtaspes in Church Mynshull for thirty-nine years commencing at the festival of Pentecost in 23 Edward III., rendering annually to them their heirs and assigns a rose at the festival of the nativity of Saint John the Baptist for all secular services and demands. Given at Vale Royal and sealed on Sunday next following the festival of Saint Michael the Archangel in the twenty fourth year of the reign of Edward III. Seals, see figs. 3 and 4.

26 EDWARD III.

Robert son of John de Legh granted to his son Robert and his heirs four saltpans and one in Northwich which he had of his father's gift, together with lands and tenements in Legh. Witnesses: Sir John de Legh, Sir John de Hyde, Thomas de Legh, Edmund de Mabberlegh, John son of John de Legh, and others.

46 EDWARD III.

Maud who was wife of Robert Legh senior of her own free will and in her widowhood quitclaimed to Robert son of Robert Legh all her rights of dower in messuages tenements and lands in the townships of Northwich and Legh, as witness her seal.

43 EDWARD III.

Roger son of Hugh de Venables Chevalier granted by charter to his chaplain Richard le fissher of Ellesmere his heirs and assigns his lands and tenements and a wood in the

Rythaspes in Church Minshull, subject to accustomed services. Witnesses: Richard de Wone, William de Minshull, Thomas de Spurstowe, William del Holt, Richard Harald, and others. Seal, see fig. 5.

12 HENRY IV.

Clemence who was the wife of William de Lyle (Holt) granted in her own right (semorio) to William son of the same William del Holt her life interest in all the messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services which she held in dower and hereditarily separately from William de Lyle in the county of Chester except a water mill at Whelok which she held of William the son of William for her life, rendering to her annually eighteen marks in two payments. Dated at Middlewich in 12 Henry IV. Seal, a swan in an oval border (fig. 6).

10 HENRY VI.

Hugh de Fyton (of Bollin, not of Pownall)* gave and confirmed by charter to Joane who was wife to Richard de Changby of Copenhall all the lands tenements rents and services which he had in Wistanton Copenhall and Foxwist in the County of Chester, together with all his moveables and immovables in whosesoever possession they might be, to hold the same to herself her heirs and assigns subject to accustomed services. Witnesses: George de Wevere, John de Sonde of Copenhall, John de Brundeley of Wystaston, and others. Given at Copenall on Monday following the festival of the blessed Virgin Mary in 10 Henry VI. Seal, a garb with initial letters H. F., fig. 7.

11 HENRY VI.

Sir Peter de Dutton confirmed by charter to Eve who was the wife of John de Minshull for her life two messuages, one

* Was not this Hugh Fitton slain at the battle of Blore Heath fought 23rd September, 1459?

hundred acres of land, six acres of meadow, and one of wood in Churchminshull. Witnesses: Walter Chauntrell *locum tenens* for the Justices of Cheshire, William Troutbeck Chamberlain, Ralph de Sefton Sheriff, Sir John de Caryngton, John Doune senior, Hugh de Dutton, Hugh de Ravenscroft. Given at Churchminshull. Broken seal of Dutton, with crest, fig. 8.

17 HENRY VI.

Eleanor daughter of Bartholemew del Shaw granted by charter to George de Wen and Joane his wife and their heirs all her lands and tenements in Monkscopenhale conditionally to an annual payment to her of twenty four shillings during her life. Witnesses: John de Rope, John de Wetenhale of Nantwich, John de Wen, and others. Dated 17 Henry VI., and given at Monkscopenall.

23 HENRY VI.

I George Wen have granted and by charter confirmed to Thomas Duncalf his heirs and assigns all my lands and tenements in Monkecopenhale, Churchcopenhale, Churchminshull, Middlewich, and elsewhere in the county of Chester. Witnesses: Sir Lawrence Fyton, Sir Robert Both, Sir John Honford, Robert Legh gentleman, and others. Dated 23 Henry VI., December.

23 HENRY VI.

Power of attorney from George Wen to James Welfield and John Colyn to deliver the above possessions to Thomas Duncalf.

24 HENRY VI.

Power of attorney from Thomas Duncalf to Edward Bothe and Robert Fyney to deliver seizin of his lands and tenements in Monkecopenhale, Churchcopenhale, Churchminshull,

Middlewich, and elsewhere in Cheshire. Dated 24 Henry VI. Seal: a calf with initial letters T. D. (fig. 9).

14 Edward IV.

Emma widow of Thomas Haryngton gentleman who claimed to have a right in lands and tenements in Lightaspes in Churchminshull quitclaimed the same for herself and her heirs to William Venables of Kynderton then seized of the same. Witnesses: Sir Thomas Fyton, Peter Dutton, and Richard Fyton. October 24th. 14 Edward IV.

17 Edward IV.

Peter Venables, John and Thomas Crewe, chaplains, released to William Venables and Joane his wife and their heirs all the lands, tenements, rents, and services which they held in trust in Lightaspes in Churchminshull with a reversion of all lands and tenements which the Lady Emma Haryngton held for her life in Burwardesley and Overton Carrike near Malpas.

1 Richard III.

James Duncalf of Foxwist conveyed all his messuages and salt works in Minshull in trust to Richard Clerke Chaplain, and William Crowther their heirs and assigns. Witnesses: John Savage senior, Thomas ——, and Nicholas Davenport.

2 Richard III.

Indenture made between James son and heir of Thomas Duncalf and William Venables of Kinderton for farming out all messuages, tofts, lands, tenements, rents, and services to the said William Venables for forty-one years at a yearly rent of thirty shillings. Witnesses: Sir Thomas Stoniley justice of Chester, Sir William Stanley chamberlain, Robert Legh of Adlington, John Minshull, Edmund Minshull, Thomas Wetenhall of Cholmondeston, and Ralph Huxley. Given at Churchminshull.

1 Henry VII.

Richard Clerk chaplain and William Crowther trustees reconveyed to James Duncalf and Lucy (Downes) his wife all the messuages, lands, and tenements which Nicholas Minshull and John Sparke held of them for a term of years or at will in Minshull; also a salt pan which William Oven rented in Middlewich; also lands and tenements which Robert Hulley held in Mottram Andrew. Witnesses: Thomas Fyton of Pownall, Thomas Hyde, and William Wylot.

18 Henry VIII.

William Venables entered into a covenant with Thomas Duncalf and his heirs to pay an annual rent of six shillings and eight pence for the proceeds of a salt pan in Middlewich then in the tenancy of Ralph Holt, and for a messuage, lands, and tenements in Church Minshull then in the tenure of Peter Minshull.

35 Henry VIII.

William alias (al) John de Venables of Perechull granted to Sir Hugh de Venables of Kinderton and Katherine his wife all the messuages, lands, woods, and tenements which he lately had in Churchminshull for their lives, and after their decease to Roger their son and his heirs male, failing which to Hugh his brother in like manner, and failing Hugh to his brother Thomas in like manner, and failing Thomas to his brother Richard in like manner, and failing Richard to the right heirs of Sir Hugh de Venables and Katherine. Witnesses: William de Venables of Bradwell, Richard de Vende, Richard del Schawe, John de Bechton, and William del Salle (?).*

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* The terms of this deed, and its conditions, are so singularly out of accord with the accepted descent of the family of Venables of Kinderton, as vouched for by post-mortem inquisitions, that I have considered it desirable to give the original text, or as much of it as is necessary.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willielmus (al) Johannes de Venables de Perechull dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Hugoni de Venables de Kinderton militi et Katrine uxori ejus omnes messuagia terre boscus et tenementa que nuper habui in Churchminshull cum omnibus suis pertinenciis sine aliquo retimento Habendum et tenendum predicto Hugoni et Katrine ad totam vitam ipsorum Hugonis et Katrine libere bene quiete et in pace cum libero introitu et egressu cum omnibus aliis libertatibus communis et eysiamentitis de capitali domino foedi aliorum per servicia inde exeuntes et de jure consueta Preterea quod post decessum eorum Hugonis et Katrine quod omnia messuagia &c integre remanerent Rogero filio Hugonis et Katrine et heredibus masculis de corpore ipsius Rogeri exeuntibus habendum et tenendum &c Et si contingat eidem Rogero sine heredo masculo de corpore suo exeunte obire quod ab sic tunc volo et concedo omnia dicta messuagia &c post decessum ipsius Rogeri integre remanerent Hugoni fratri ejusdem Rogeri et heredibus masculis &c." In like manner, and under the same contingencies, the grant is made to Thomas and Richard, brothers in their order, and, failing heirs male, then "rectis heredibus de corporibus dictorum Hugonis de Venables militis et Katrine exeuntibus In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Willielmo de Venables de Bradwall Ricardo de Vende Ricardo del Schawe Johanne de Bechton Willielmo del Salle cum multis aliis Dat apud Churchminshull die dominica proximo ante festum Sancti Michaelis Archiangeli anno domini Millemo quintencesimo quadragesimo quinto."

The statements made in this deed are written with great circumspection, and indeed nothing in the nature of a grant could be more amply drafted. Notwithstanding which the terms and conditions are irreconcilable with the accepted descent of Sir Hugh Venables, the validity

of which is further corroborated by post-mortem records to be met with in the volumes published by the Deputy Keeper of Public Records. In the first place, Sir Hugh Venables, the last-mentioned Baron of Kinderton in the direct line, did not marry Katherine. He was slain at the battle of Blore Heath in the reign of Henry VI., and left no issue, when the barony passed to Sir William Venables, son of Thomas Venables of Golborne, who lost his life at Flodden. Whilst making due allowance for various claimants to the barony after the above date, the only survivor of this Christian name was Hugh Venables, of Agden, who married Jane Page, and unsuccessfully claimed to be the rightful heir as against Sir William Venables, of Golborne; but even here the accord fails as he left no such issue as is named in the deed. As if to add a further perplexity, the names of two of the witnesses, viz., those of John de Bechton, and William Venables, of Bradwell, cannot be traced, though they may have been descended from junior branches of their respective families formerly mesne lords of these townships. Concerning the family of Venables, of Perchul in Staffordshire, little or nothing pertinent to the present inquiry can be gleaned from the Salt Papers.

DISPUTED BOUNDARY IN ASHWORTH.

3 EDWARD VI. [1548-49].

BY HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.

ASHWORTH is one of those places in Lancashire about which very little has been written. Baines in his history of the county dismisses it with a bare mention, and other succeeding writers have added but little to his record; yet it is a district which probably has an interesting history. The very name, with its terminative "worth," indicates its Saxon origin, and leads one to suppose that its first inhabitants belonged to the same race as those whose dwelling-places gave the names to Butterworth, Hollingworth, Wardleworth, and other places in its immediate neighbourhood. The chapelry of Ashworth has long been attached to the parish church of Middleton, and, although it comprises an area of over one thousand and twenty-one acres, it is even in the present but thinly populated, and at the time when the dispute as to the boundary in question arose the houses must have been few and far asunder, and the most part of the land was a common pasture for sheep. It may be well here to note that Ashworth is a township

detached from its parish, and is almost surrounded by the parishes of Bury and Rochdale.

In the time of Edward VI. the chief landowner (if not the only one) here was Robert Holt, of Ashworth, who was the plaintiff in the suit referred to. He was the son of Oliver Holt, of Ashworth, and he died in or about 1559, his will bearing the date of 6th November in that year. The defendants were Christopher Nuttowe and Arthur Kay, who were tenants of the Earl of Derby. The complaint was lodged in the Duchy Court, and on the 8th July, 1549,* a commission was appointed to enquire into the "variance of long time depending" between the parties, and to this end the commissioners were instructed to visit the "ground" in dispute and to collect evidence on the spot. The commission consisted of Sir William Radcliff (of Ordsall), Sir Thomas Holte (of Gristlehurst), Sir Robert Langley (of Agecroft), knights, and Thurston Tyldesley (of Tyldesley), esquire.

The proceedings, like arbitrations of the present day, commenced with a series of postponements. Sir Thomas Holte and Sir Robert Langley were the first in action, and they issued a certificate that on a certain day they went to Ashworth and examined the boundaries, but they "could do no good," because Sir William Radcliffe and Thurston Tyldesley would "neither examine the witnesses of the plaintiff nor agree to a platt."† After this another day was fixed, but Thurston Tyldesley applied for the matter to be deferred until after Candlemas Day (2nd February), but this was not agreed to, and 19th October the same two commissioners having made a "platte" of the ground they examined all the witnesses, but as some of

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* *Duchy Pleadings*, vol. liv., H. 2, 3 Edw. VI.
† Platt, an old word for a plan.

them could not "on account of great age and impotence labure to the ground," they rode to their respective houses and there examined them. The plaintiff and the defendants each put in their plans, which of course materially differed; neither appears to have been made from actual survey or drawn to a scale.

The following is a brief extract of the evidence given: Edmund Wolfenden, tenant to Thomas Belfeld, aged seventy, said that for fifty-four years he had known the "meres" (boundary) called Warmedenhed, Foulbrige, Foulbrigker, and Cowlomme, near Henyroade, out of which moss and waste a water or "beke" sprang and ran into the water called Penkesden. The "beke" at some season of the year was dry. This evidence was corroborated by James Hardman, tenant to Philip Shangwis, aged seventy; Thomas Grene, aged fifty-two; Robert Naden, aged fifty-one; and Alan Holt, aged sixty-eight; and all agreed that the said boundaries were in Ashworth. It is singular that unless we take Cowlomme to be the place now known as Cheeseden Lumb not one of the above boundaries is marked on the ordnance map.

The next meeting was on the 21st January, 1550, when other witnesses were examined. Roger Nuttawe, of Rossendale, smith, tenant to the king, aged seventy-six, deposed the water running on all the west side of Ashworth waste is called "Cheseden Broke and not Penkesden, and it was not a boundary between Ashworth and Bury." All the waste in "variance" was parcel of the lordship of Bury, and the rightful owner was the Earl of Derby. He further said that the tenants of the Earl of Derby and of his ancestors, and before their time those of Sir Thomas Pylkington, had always occupied the waste with their cattle, and that they had regularly paid their tythes to the parson of Bury and not to the parson of

Middleton. The water came direct from the north end of a waste called "Cheseden Linns," and through all its length was known as "Cheseden Broke" until quite recently, when Robert Holt had named it "Penkesden." The ditch from Cheseden Linne going east to "Codshaw Bowre" was called the "White Ditch," and formed a "meyre" and division between Bury and Rochdale. The deponent further said that the ditch from Codshaw Bowre westward to Horelowe Shawe, and from thence southward to Hare Hyll and also Stanley Syke, were "the very meres, boundaries, and divisions" between Bury and Ashworth, and the tenants of Bury "used to enteromen" past these "meres" or wyndle until they came to the inclosures of Robert Holt.

There is no trace on the ordnance map of Codshawe Bowre, Horelowe Shawe, or Hare Hill, but Stanley appears as Stand Lees and Wyndle is Wind Hill, but the description does not answer to the present township boundary.

Jeffraye Bryde, of Tottington, aged seventy-five, tenant to John Greenhalgh, Esq., said that he had heard that "the water of Penkesdeyne met Cheseden Broke ferre bynethe" all the waste in dispute. His testimony was corroborated by Richard Heype, of Rossendale, aged sixty-seven, one of the king's tenants. Olyver Holte, of Rossendale, aged seventy-five, also a king's tenant, has "ever since he was 8 years old" heard the water called "Cheseden Broke." Rychard Broke, of Rossendale, a king's copyholder, aged seventy-one, deposed the same.

Robert Smethurst, aged ninety-one, tenant to Arthur Smethurst, said that when Sir Thomas Pylkyngton was lord of Bury he (deponent) drove his father's cattle (then being a charterer) to the waste in dispute, as did all the other tenants, and they occupied the waste without

interruption from anybody until lately: his father also appointed him to look after the lambing of his sheep, telling him that for those that did lamb on Stanlees or on any other part of the waste he must pay tithe to the parson of Bury: for those on the north side of the White Ditch he must pay to "Rachedale," and if beyond Stanley Syke on Wyndle Hill he must pay tithe to the parson of Middleton. More than seventy years ago he had heard aged men say that the water of Penkesden began at Warmeden Well, running thence down to "Cattes oke," between High Ashworth and Low Ashworth, and "so descendyng between the lands of Ashworth and Gristylhurst" (Gristlehurst).

Cat's Oak and Warmeden Well have disappeared, but we have a Wham and a Wham Hill.

John Kaye, of Basthouse, aged seventy-two; Bertyn Kaye, of Tuche Roode (now Touch Road), aged seventy-five; Peres Lumalx (Lomax), of Dwerributtes (now Glory Butts), aged seventy-two; Thomas Woode, of the Halgh, aged sixty-four; Henry Lord, of Bury, aged fifty-eight; Ellis Fleecher, of Wamersley (Walmersley), aged seventy-five; Roger Kaye, of Shepulbotham (now Shipper Bottom), aged fifty-three, and Bertym Kaye, the younger, aged fifty-three, all tenants of the Earl of Derby, deposed that the water of Penkesdeyne came from Warmeden Well, and went a short distance in an easterly direction and then turned southwards to "the place where a grett oke dyd growe called Cattes Okes and so still Southward" passing between the lands of Gristlehurst on the west side and Ashworth on the north-east side, and that it met Cheseden Brook more than half a mile below the lands at variance. This evidence was supported by James Howorthe, of Ballydene, aged ninety, tenant to the king; Christopher Lumalx, of Tottington, aged eighty-two,

tenant to Christopher Bothe, and Jeffray Brydge, of Tottington, aged sixty-seven, tenant to Thomas Aynesworth.

Laurence Tayleor, of "Eytynfield" (Edenfield), aged about seventy, tenant to Francis Gartside, said that his father paid tithe to Bury for cattle "wiche dyd renewe upon the said wast," and eight or nine years ago he had heard say that Oliver Holt, father of Robert Holt, the plaintiff, paid to the Earl of Derby certain money "as amends for getting turves upon the said waste." Christopher Holt, of Hollyngreyve, gentleman, aged forty-eight, and John Bryde, of Tottington, gentleman, aged fifty-eight, gave similar evidence.

Richard Batursbe, of Bury, aged seventy-four, tenant to John Grenhalgh, Esq., aged fifty-nine, "knew for certain" that Oliver Holt, the plaintiff's father, paid to James Grenehalghe, as deputy steward of Bury, 1s. 4d. for trespass on this waste.

Edward Frythe, of Redyvalles (now Redvale), aged twenty-five, certified that eight years before he was servant to John Howorthe, of Assheworth, and that Stevyn Holt, father of John Howorthe and tenant to the plaintiff, aged eighty, told him that the water near Howorthe's house in Assheworth was called Penkesdeyne, and that it rose in Warmeden Well, and that he had known it so called for forty years, but some people "dare not call it Penkesdeyne for fear of displeasing the plaintiff because the suit then depending." Oliver Lowe, of Tottington, aged fifty-seven, tenant to Christopher Holt, of Hollyngreve, gentleman; Adam Rowstorne, of the Linne, gentleman, aged about sixty; Thomas Nuttawe, of Tottington, gentleman, aged sixty-seven; James Bamforde, of Bamford, aged fifty; Thurstan Rowstorne, of Bury, aged sixty-four; Robert Lyversage, of Byrtyll

(Birtle), aged sixty-three; William Holt, of Walmersley, aged sixty-eight (the two latter were tenants to Robert Holt, of Stubley, Esq.); Richard Barcroft, of Chesum (Chesham), aged seventy-six; Adam Bamford, gentleman, aged forty-six, and Richard Meadowcroft, gentleman, aged twenty-nine, all gave corroborative evidence.

Thomas Reyde, of Tottington, aged sixty-six, tenant to Christopher Holt, said that until a year and a half previous to the suit he had never heard the water called Penkesdene.

Thomas Nabbes, of Tottington, gentleman, aged sixty-three, "knew very well" that the tenants of Bury and other places thereabouts paid tithes "for cattle renewing" upon the waste to the parson of Bury, and not to the parson of either Rachedale or Myddelton, because his uncle (Sir John Nabbes), late parson of Bury, appointed one Jeffraye, of Cheesden, whose dwelling adjoined the waste, to "oversee & look after the cattle of strangers which should happen to come within the waste and there renew."

The rector of Bury (John Nabbes) died about the year 1507.

Edmund Lowe, of Tottington, aged sixty-four, and James Romesbothom, of Tottington, aged seventy-six, state that the water coming out of Cheesden Linne was called Cheseden Broke, and had been so called "contynewelly sythens Kyng Richardes ffeld," and was "never called Penkcsdeyne until with the last year and a half," and John Hewood, gentleman, aged fifty, gave similar evidence.

The deposition of Edmund Wolfynden, tenant to Thomas Belfeld, of Cleggswood, in Rochdale parish, aged seventy, was to the effect that he well knew all "the metes and boundes" of the ground, and these were

Standleysike, Widdislshay, Risshelache, Horelowshey, and so to Penkisbroke, the water of which descended to the first "mere," called Standlesike. The deponent further said that fifty-four years ago, when he lived with Rauff Hamer, in Chesesome (Chesham), he drove his master's cattle into Depemosse (Deepmoss), and from thence he would have driven them over Penkesden Water into Standlees, but "Judd" Holt said to him "ffaire son thow shalt drive none over the water for that is my master's ground:" the water was always called Penkesden during his remembrance, and this he could prove, for when he was "bott (but) of small age he was in company with theyme yt did hunt in the woodes of Assheworth & when the game was founde iff hit did goo and flee of the west partie then all men wold say goo oppe the water of Penkesden vnto Cheisdenhomme & ther shall haue a course," this water is a special boundary of the west part of the ground in question. Cheisden Water lies on the north of Penkesden, and falls into it at a place called Cheisdenlome. Penkesden Water runs south from Cheisdenlome to the Nader Water, and at its junction with it loses its name. It is by estimation about two miles long.

The evidence just given is supported by the testimony of Ellen Chadwick, tenant to John Chadwick, of Elwodrowde (Ellenrod, in Rochdale), aged eighty-four.

Roger Nuttowe, tenant of Richard Assheton, of Middleton, Esq., aged about seventy-six, said that he had fished in Penkesden Water more than sixty years ago, when William Medowcrofte, gentleman, said to him "goo into Penkisden and begyne at Byrchynnase oppen the more and then no man will blame the except Mr. Holt and he is thy friend."

Edmund Holt, tenant of Laurence Rawstorne, aged sixty years, stated that he was born in Bamefurth (Bam-

ford), in Bury, and that fifty years ago his father did lay and *giest** his sheep many times to Standlees, and paid to Oliver Holt in "Mawyng and sheringe" and other work.

Similar evidence was given by Thomas Greve, tenant to Robert Chadwick, aged fifty-two. James Herdman, tenant to Philippe Strangwis, aged seventy-three years, said that immediately after "Kinge Ricards ffeild"† the tenants of the lordship of Burre (Bury), hearing of the Lord of Derby and a multitude of "Welshmen" that he brought with him were afraid the said Welshmen would spoil and rob them of their goods and chattles, and to avoid the risk they brought their cattle over the water of Penkesden into the ground and variance by the sufferance of the lord of Assheworth to the intent that they might go in "savegard" there.

Adam Holte, tenant to Adam Bamforth, aged sixty-four, deposed that when he lived with his father in Bury fifty years they had license from Oliver Holt to keep their sheep in the said ground, and sometimes in stormy weather he drove them to a place called Dirpulhill (? Deepley Hill) and to Sandstonbanke and Stanelees, when William Kay, father of Arthur Kay, the defendant, and other tenants of the lordship of Bury were present, and they never found fault with him for so doing; indeed, William Kay many times said to him: "Sone go home thy shepe will take no hurm here for they will go to the best socure" (succour).

Finally Robert Chadweke, tenant to Robert Holt, of Stubley, Esq., aged eighty-seven, deposed that the heirs

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* Agistment of cattle is the feeding of them on common pasture.
† Battle of Bosworth Field, August 22nd, 1485.

of Assheworth had for fifty years (until lately) had peaceable possession of the ground in question.

The depositions, of which the preceding pages contain a pretty full extract, afford a striking example of the manner in which the enquiries into these kind of disputes were conducted in the time of Edward VI., and afford evidence that human nature in the end of the nineteenth century is very much the same as it was in the middle of the sixteenth century. Both sides called up all the oldest men in the district, who, in an exemplary manner, remember exactly what they were required to remember, and forgot what it was convenient to lose sight of: the result being such a mass of conflicting evidence that probably the commissioner decided the case in such a manner as to effect a compromise to settle the dispute. Whatever the decree was (which has not been preserved), it is certain that since the date of this suit the boundaries have been altered, and from the ordnance map it appears that many of the ancient landmarks have disappeared.

The present boundary between Ashworth and Bury is now for nearly half its length marked by a straight line of stone wall, the remainder by Cheeseden Brook: the division between Ashworth and Rochdale is by a wall and the waters of Old House Brook, Naden Brook, and Norden Water, and the southern boundary of Ashworth is also Cheeseden Brook.

OLD JOHN HEYWOOD, OF SADDLEWORTH.

BY SAMUEL ANDREW.

HEYWOODS (or, as people call it, Yeauwoods), near Austerlands, is the seed plot, in the district of Hey and Lees, of an important branch of that numerous and respectable family known as Heywood. How the name originated can only be a matter of guess. In old records it is spelt in such a variety of ways that you would sometimes think that Heywood (or Haywood, as it is now spelt) and Howard (or Haworth) are from one common root, and that the common ancestor represented that important member of archaic society known as the "hayward." On this subject, however, there is no room to dogmatise; suffice it to say that in the ancient village community one of the corporate officials was the "hayward," and that there were probably as many haywards in various parts of the country as there were village communities, but that was a long time ago. We know, however, that we had a village community in the district of Lees, but whether the local family whose name can be spelt in such a variety of ways were members of it must be left to the chapter of unfathomable, and, therefore,

undecided problems. For nearly three centuries the Heywoods (Heawoods, or Heawards, as anciently spelt) have left footprints in Knott Lanes division, and at least for two and a half centuries on the borders of Saddleworth, at a place known in old times as "Osterlands." If there be any truth in the sentiment which seems to pervade a certain old book—namely, that a certain class of people shall inherit the earth—surely we may fairly conclude that for the most part, and generally speaking, the family of Heywood belongs to that class.

This brings me to notice an important member of the Heywood family, who lived during the troublous times of the Commonwealth, and who left behind him traces of the religious turmoil of that period. His name was John Heawood. He would appear to have been a kind of yeoman farmer, and though he or his family gave name to the farmstead where they lived, Heawoods, the farm itself did not belong to him. At his death he seemed to have been a fairly prosperous farmer, with a well-stocked farm and plenty of spare money to wield his business. It is, however, to his religious connections that I wish to call attention. He lived far enough away from any church or chapel to be priest-ridden, Oldham Church being nearest on the one hand, and Saddleworth Church on the other. As a neighbour he would have Dr. Byrom, who gave name to and lived at Doctor House and Doctor Lane; a retired clergyman who had been taken prisoner by Cromwell's troops at a skirmish which took place at Nantwich during the civil war, but it is not likely there would be much fellowship between the two, as they took separate sides, Byrom siding with King Charles, and John Heawood with the friends of the Commonwealth. It is from these friends that we obtain information relating to the life and character of John

Heawood, and, indeed, of the age in which he lived. He would seem to have been a friend of the Rev. Henry Newcome, the Puritan, and in Newcome's autobiography, published by the Chetham Society in 1852, edited by Dr. Parkinson, principal of Saint Bees College culars of which had lineal descendant, the Shenley, we find the g to John Heywood, 27th, 1658, though it ddition: "(Saturday). h, came again to me e (at Saddleworth) for ave excused it because ance, &c., but I found esolutely importunate discourse with him he rudged about in that sked him whether he ce he took that pains, Angier answered he h men as he might rs to 2 Chron. xxvii. 6, tham became mighty re the Lord his God," se that are eminently n with his faithfulness ly yielded to him for sed not to deny him rwise hindered, for I pirit which the Lord fail him save only one ss freely excused by him himself until the fatal August 24th, 1662, just about

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and John, to be supervisors. Witnesses, Edmund Buckley and John Whitehead. Signed, John Heawood. His effects were "prized" on the 10th October, 1662, by James Lees, James Clayton, Joseph Taylor, and Ottiwell Wyld. In sheep he had £11. 10s., cows £85. 13s. 4d., corn and hay £5. 13s. 4d., wooll, yarn, and cloth £4. 9s. 8d., brass and pewter £1. 7s., five coffers £1. 5s., three bedsteads and press 14s. 6d., bedding £3, arks, iron-ware, chairs, and other huslements £1. 7s., purse and apparel £3. 10s., debts owing to testator £74. 12s. 4d., total £193. 2s. 2d. Duly signed by the prizers, two of whom have a private mark as sign manual. Proved at Chester, November 8th, 1662.

I have given the children's names for the sake of the many Samuels, Daniels, Isaacs, Johns, Jameses, and others, who rejoice in the name of Heywood. I have given the amount "prized" appraised or valued, to show what the fortune of a comfortable yeoman during the Commonwealth, was like. I have given the names of the executors, &c., to show who John Heywood's friends and neighbours were, probably they were Puritans like himself.

I have mentioned the *Book of Martyrs*, because, next to the Bible, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was the great text book of the Puritans, even the Quakers searched it closely, and John Heywood's share of the book was bound up in other people's shares, and probably the big volume was deposited in some church or chapel for the use of the public, like a kind of free reference library, and probably like some other books it was chained down lest some "Egyptian" might carry it away, all unbeknown to the subscribers.

But wh[illegible] John Heywood took to perpetuate and [illegible] the [illegible] great Bible. How this act reminds

us of some precepts of this great book, "when thou sittest in thine house or walkest by the way, or liest down or risest up." John Richard Green tells us, writing of a period a few years anterior to John Heywod's death, but within his life time, "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. It was as yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened to their force and beauty, kindled a startling enthusiasm."

THE STYCAS OF NORTH HUMBRIA.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.

WHEN Mr. D. H. Haigh, of Leeds, published his costly and artistic essay on the coinage of East Anglia, in 1845, he intimated that if his work were favourably received it would be followed immediately by one on the coins of North Humbria, and at short intervals by others of the coins of the heptarchic kingdoms. Unfortunately Mr. Haigh's labours were inadequately rewarded, and on that account no second publication took place. In the following pages it is my intention to place in the hands of the reader an essay on the stycas; but before proceeding further permit me to explain that when the word styca is used it is intended to express a coin in silver or other metal issued from North Humbrian mints previous to the issue of the silver penny in that kingdom. Hitherto it has been customary to describe the early coins of the kingdom when struck in silver or debased white metal as sceattas, and stycas when struck in copper, bronze, or orichalcum (yellow brass). I shall, however, only call attention to the metal of the coins when struck in silver, so that when no allusion is made to the metal it is to be understood as being of a baser denomination. It has not yet been ascertained to what extent the coinage of North Humbria is inten-

tionally of silver or copper respectively, and the question is the more difficult to fathom owing to all the silver coins containing an alloy of copper in their composition, whilst a large percentage of the copper coins of some reigns contain an alloy of silver. Those who are interested in this *quære* should carefully read the vigorous paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, n.s., vol. xx., by Major A. B. Creeke, and the masterly reply of the late Mr. Hyman Montagu, which followed it (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. iii.).

During the Saxon period the word styca appears to have been used to express the small North Humbrian coins (and probably included Roman small copper) which circulated in North Humbria, whilst the sceatta was in circulation in other parts of the heptarchy. So far as I am aware, finds of sceattas are (with one exception*) unknown in North Humbria. Mr. Lindsay was inclined to assign five sceattas (engraved on plate i. of his coins of the heptarchy) to North Humbria on account of the animals upon them being similar to the quadrupeds on the stycas of Eadberht, Alchred, and other kings, but (in my opinion) such an attribution should be supported by stronger evidence than he was able to supply. It frequently happens that the inscriptions on the stycas have runes mixed promiscuously with Saxon and Roman letters, thus showing that runic characters had not at that time become entirely superseded. Previous to the present century stycas do not appear to have been abundant, and, if we may judge by Sir Andrew Fountaine's work on the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish coinage (Oxon., 1705), they appear to have received less consideration than the coinage of the other kingdoms of

* Manchester.

the heptarchy. The stycas are of two classes—one, those issued by kings, and, two, those issued by Ecgberht, Eanbald, Vigmund, and Ulfhere, archbishops of York. The earliest find of stycas recorded took place in 1695 at Elshaw or Ailcey Hill, a large tumulus, near Ripon, containing specimens of Eanred, Æthelred, and Osbercht. Another find, near the same tumulus, took place in 1853, consisting of specimens of Eanred and Æthelred. An unimportant find is recorded in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. viii. The four principal finds of stycas are Kirk Oswald, 1808; Hexham, 1833; The Mint Yard, St. Leonard's Place, York, 1842, and Woodhill Close, in the township of Hornington, in the parish of Bolton Percy, near Ulleskelf, 1846. The Kirk Oswald find contained five hundred and twenty-eight coins, the Hexham find about ten thousand, the York find exceeded eight thousand, and the Bolton Percy find about six thousand. Most of the Bolton Percy coins were unfortunately consolidated into a mass, which prevented a complete examination of the whole find. Such stycas as were capable of being identified are noted in the following summary:—

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL STYCA FINDS.

	Eanred.	Aethelred.	Redulf.	Osbercht.	Eanbald.	Vigmund.	Ulfhere.
Kirk Oswald, 1808	99	350	14	1	1	58	5
Hexham, 1833*	318	402	37	none	56	80	none
York, 1842:							
Smith's Exn	66	226	5	12	1	30	3
Haigh's Exn	157	457	19	45	3	94	13
Hargrove's Exn	531	919	63	61	1	237	23
Wellbeloved's Exn	102	304	15	23	none	59	8
Fennell's Exn	66	252	8	23	none	57	8
Bolton Percy, 1846	70	267	5	18	none†	47	5

* As the Hexham find contained no coins of Osbercht or Ulfhere, the deposit must be assumed to have taken place during the reign of Redulf.

† At the sale of the Bateman heirlooms there were about a dozen stycas of Eanbald from this find.

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Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. x.), and uninscribed sceattas of the most frequent types, much worn by circulation, at Campfield, Manchester, whilst digging the foundations for the old reference library.

REGAL COINS.

ECGFRITH (670-685).

O. ECGFRIÐ REX=A cross.
R. =A cross radiated dividing the characters+LVX.

Two specimens of this styca were in the Bolton Percy find, and about half a dozen more were found in the churchyard, Heworth, in the parish of Jarrow, near Gateshead, in 1813 (particulars of which are recorded in vol. i. of the *Archæologia Æliana*), all struck from the same die. The weight is about nineteen grains. Mr. Montagu's specimen, however, only weighed seventeen and a half grains. The workmanship is weak, and the attribution exceedingly doubtful. The word REX on a North Humbrian coin at this early period seems inadmissible as it does not appear upon the coins of his immediate successors. Offa, king of Mercia, had a son named ECGFRIÐ, and Mr. Lindsay had an idea that the coin might have been somehow issued under his authority, during his short reign of one hundred and forty-one days, in 796. The low relief of the inscription is characteristic of the coinage of Offa, and appears to favour Mr. Lindsay's suggestion that the styca may have had some affinity to the adjoining kingdom of Mercia. The word LVX on the reverse may be intended for LVL, a moneyer of Offa. The final letter X is far from distinct.

ALDFRITH (685-705).

O. ALDFRIDVS = A circle of dots enclosing a pellet.
R. = A fantastic animal walking to left.

Only two coins of this king are known, both having the same reading and type. One is struck in fine silver, weighing a little over nineteen grains. It belonged to Mr. Cuff, and was sold by auction to the British Museum for £25. The other is in the collection of Mr. Rashleigh.

EADBERHT (737-758).

(See coins of Ecgberht, archbishop.)

O. EOTBERHTVS = A circle of dots enclosing a cross, a dot in each angle.
R. = A fantastic animal to left; an arabesque below.

O. EOTBEREHTVΓ = A circle of dots enclosing a cross.
R. = A fantastic animal walking to left, one paw raised.

O. EOTBEREHTVΓ = A cross.
R. = A horned animal to right with barbed tail; in the centre of the field four circles of dots, each enclosing a pellet.

O. EOTBEREHTVΓ = A cross on a boss.
R. = A fantastic animal walking to left.

O. EADBERHTVΓ = A cross pattée.
R. = A fantastic animal to right, with horns and barbed tail.

O. EOTBERETVΓ (retrograde) = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal to right, with horns and barbed tail; an arabesque below, a cross above.

O. EOTBERERT·Γ (retrograde) = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal to right, with horns and barbed tail; an arabesque below, a cross above.

This king's coins are silver. The final letter of his name has often a stroke short, giving the letter the appearance of a Saxon letter L. In manuscripts of the period the S is frequently found as represented on the coins. It is alleged that a styca of this king was found with some sceattas of the earliest period in the Isle of Thanet, in Kent (Withy and Ryal's plates).

ETHILWALD (759-765).

(See coins of Ecgberht, archbishop.)

ALCHRED (765-766).

(See coins of Ecgberht, archbishop.)

O. + AL·CHRED = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal walking to right, with horns and barbed tail; below, a cross.

O. + AΓ·CHRED = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal walking to right, with horns and barbed tail; below, a cross.

O. AΓ·CHRED (the last three letters retrograde) = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal walking to right, with horns and barbed tail; below, a cross.

The coins of this king are of base silver and very rare. A specimen was found in Jarrow Churchyard. The letter L is frequently found upside down on the coins and manuscripts of the period.

ÆTHELRED I. (774).

O. EDILRED = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal, fore paw raised; beneath, an arabesque.

This silver coin was discovered at Hornsea, Yorkshire, in 1875, and found its way into the cabinet of Mr. F. W. U. Robinson. At his sale the piece was purchased for £6 by Lord Grantley (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. xii.).

ÆLFWALD I. (778-789).

O. + EΓFVAᐧ1 V = Three pellets.
R. = A fantastic animal to left.

O. + ∀ ΓEFVALD (the last four letters retrograde) = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal to left.

O. ADVALDVS (retrograde) = A cross.
R. = A fantastic animal to right, a cross below.

This king was murdered by one of his nobles named Sigan. His coins are of base silver. The two first

described pieces were purchased at the Cuff sale, and are in Mr. Rashleigh's collection. The third coin is in the British Museum, and appears more difficult to appropriate, the inscription being capable of several readings. Mr. Keary considered the correct reading to be EFVALDAS.

OSRED II. (789-790).

O. +ORSE REX (retrograde) = Five pellets, forming a cross.
R. HEAMH = An annulet.

This coin was in Mr. Montagu's collection. The reason why it is claimed for this king is not known. It sold for £3. 6s. at his sale in 1895. It resembles many blundered coins of Osbercht.

HEARDULF (794-806).

O. HEARDAΓF = A cross pattée.
R. + HERREÐ = A cross pattée.

There were three specimens of this styca in the Hexham find.

O. +EARDVVL· (retrograde) = A cross.
R. +ODILO (retrograde) = A cross pattée.

The final letter is often monogramed with the letter F. The above-described two coins are usually accepted as belonging to this king, but the absence of the word REX after the king's name had led some numismatologists to question the correctness of the attribution.

O. EARDVLF (retrograde) = A cross surrounded by pellets,
R. +VÐNNE = A cross pattée, with a pellet in V each angle.

This coin was in Mr. Montagu's collection, and assigned by him to Heardulf.

O. +EARDVVLF = A cross.
R. +AENAÐ = A cross.

My specimen of this coin is struck in base silver, and resembles some of the coins of Eanred and Eanbald.

O. +EARDVL = A pattée; dots in angles.
R. +ERESD = A pellet.

O. HEXAΓΓ = A circle of dots enclosing a pellet.
R. +ERVVLIX = A cross.

O. EARDVV REX (retrograde) = A circle enclosing a pellet.
R. +HVAETRD = A cross pattée.

Mr. Keary assigns these three stycas to this king.

O. +EΛ+DIΛIΓ·E (retrograde) = A star with dots at the points.
R. (Name undecipherable) = A cross.

O. +EΛ+ÐΛIΓ.·.E (retrograde) = A star with dots at the points.
R. +VLFRED = A cross.

O. +EΛ+Ð:ΛIΓ·E = A star with dots at the points.
R. (Name undecipherable) = A circle of pellets and a pellet in the centre.

O. EΛ+ÐΛILF = A star with dots at the points.
R. (Name undecipherable) = Two circles of dots and a pellet in the centre.
(*Numismatic Chronicle*, o.s., vol. vii.)

The following moneyers appear to the obverse of this strange styca: VLFRED, EADVINI, BOEN, PIEN, EARHV, DINVL, and DANID (*Numismatic Chronicle*, o.s., vol. ix.).

O. +EΛ+D:IX.·. (retrograde) = A star with dots at the points.
R. +EΛDVINI (retrograde) = A cross.

O. +EΛ+DI RE = A cross.
R. +VIDHEL = A pellet in a circle of dots.

O. EV+DI RE = A cross.
R. CIENVVLF = A pellet in a circle of dots.

The lastly described pieces were found at York in 1842, and their attribution is uncertain.

A styca in the Cuff sale is described as reading on the obverse HEARD, and on the reverse EADVINI.

A styca from the Hexham find reads: Obverse, VLEA REX, and on the reverse VIEDIEH.

HOAUTH.

So far as I have been able to ascertain there are only four stycas known which bear the legend "HOAVÐ REX." Their full descriptions are as follow:—

O. +HOAVÐ REX = A cross.
R. +HVAETRD (retrograde) = A cross.

Found at York in 1842. Stonyhurst has a duplicate.

O. +HOAVD RE = A cross.
R. +HVLTRD = A cross.

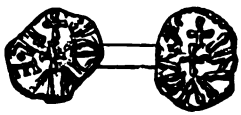
Found at Bolton Percy in 1846.

O. +HOAVD REX = A cross.
R. +ERDVLFON = A cross.

Found at Bolton Percy in 1846.

Attempts have been made to read the Bolton Percy coins backwards and decipher the word EARDVVLF, but, in my opinion, with little (if any) success, as by so doing several letters in the obverse legend remain wholly unaccounted for. If we accept their appropriation to the troubled reign of Heardulf as unsatisfactory, the question naturally occurs, when and by whom were they issued? The moneyers' names leave little doubt that they were minted during the reign of Heardulf, or shortly after its close. The legends are, to all appearances, free from blunders, and respectively terminate with the letters RE(X). The name of Hoauth is historically ascertained as a king of North Humbria at a later period, and as it is not uncommom to find more than one potentate of a similar name in North Humbria, I can only suggest that these apparently regularly minted stycas may belong to some King Hoauth of whose reign history has not supplied us with an account (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. x.).

ELFWALD II. (806-808).



O. +E·LFVALD (retrograde), the letters VALD R upside down = A cross.
R. +EADVINI (retrograde) = A cross.

There are only six stycas known of this king, four of which were found at York in 1842 and one at Bolton Percy in 1846. The first described styca is in my cabinet, and a specimen from the same die is at Stonyhurst, and another in Major Creeke's collection. The latter was Mr. Lindsay's coin and afterwards Dr. Churchill Babington's. Unfortunately, the coin is incorrectly drawn in Lindsay's plate (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vols. vii. and viii.). Mr. Lindsay engraved on the same plate another styca, which he assigns to this king. He reads the inscription AFVALID on the obverse and EANA on the reverse. I, however, feel inclined to read the inscription PILHEAH, a moneyer of Eanred.

O. +ELFΛAID·R = A cross.
R. +EVDΛIHI = A cross.

O. +ELFVAID·R= A cross.
R. +O∃WVφΛΛ = A pellet in a circle.

O. +ELFVALD R = A cross.
R. EADVIHI = A cross.

These three stycas are in the York Museum. The first-described coin was from the York find and the latter two were from Bolton Percy (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. xvii.).

EANRED (804-840).

The stycas of Eanred are far from rare. The king's name is variously spelt, and is usually followed by the title REX (or some portion of it). Many of the specimens are found to be of base silver. The types of his coins are crosses, circles, and pellets. The king's name and title generally form the legend of the obverse, but occasionally the title is omitted, and the moneyer's name the legend of the reverse. The moneyer FOLCNOÐ adds M (*monetarius*) after his name, and the moneyer ODILO – MO, or MON.

The following is a list of moneyers' names (varieties of spelling omitted) of which specimens are represented in the British Museum collection :—

ALDATES	FORDRED
BROÐER	GADVTELS
CVDHARD	HERREÐ
CVNVVLF ·	HVAETRED
DAEGBERHT	MONNE
EADVINI	ODILO
EANRED	TEVEN
EARDVVLF	VILHEAH
EDELVVEARD	WINTRED
FOLCNOÐ	WLFRED

The following is a list of moneyers' names of which specimens are not represented in the British Museum collection :—

ADVLFERE · (York)	EDELNOÐ (York)
AELSER (York)	HVNLAF (Keary)
ALFHEARD (Hawkins)	LEOFDEGN (Keary)
COENRED (York)	VVENDELBERHT (Keary)
ERVVINNE (Keary)	VVLFHEARD (Hawkins)

ÆTHELRED II. (840-848).

The coins of Aethelred II. are very numerous, and occasionally, but rarely, struck in base silver. He was

deposed in 844, and reinstated on the death of Redulf. His types are not unlike those of Eanred, with additions of somewhat similar character. His moneyer LEOFDEGN, like some of Eanred's, introduces ornamental letters and designs into the centre of the coin, and sometimes an animal accompanied by an arabesque. The king's name (which is found spelt in nearly every conceivable form) is usually followed by the title REX, or some part of it. The moneyer EDELOR adds MV to his name, ODILO adds MO as in the previous reign; and LEOFDEGN adds MONET. A rare coin of this moneyer has the Saxon letter ϒ in the field of the obverse and sometimes the Saxon A. The moneyer EANRED frequently adds an additional letter to the end of his name. These letters which have been noted are E, I, O, and R. The following is a list of the moneyers' names of which specimens are represented in the British Museum collection :—

ALGHERE	FORDRED
BROÐER	HVNLAF
CEOLBALD	LEOFDEGN
COENRED	MONNE
CVDHEARD	ODILO
CVNEMVND	OLDAN
DIRINDE	TIDVVLF
EADVVINNE	VVENDELBERHT
EANRED	VVINTRED
EARDVVLF	VVLFRED
EÐELVVLF	VVLFSIG
ERVVINNE	

The following is a list of moneyers' names of which specimens are not represented in the British Museum collection :—

AEILRED (York)	EDELOR (York)
ALDATES (Keary)	EDELRED (Keary)
EADMVND (Ruding)	EDELVVEARD (Keary)
EANWALD (York)	GADVTELS (Hawkins)
EDILVTH (Creeke)	HERREÐ (York)
EDRED (Keary)	HIGHERE (Lindsay)
EDELHELM (Keary)	WERNED (York)

REDULF (844).

This king's coins are comparatively scarce, and are usually in fine condition. His types are similar to those of Æthelred II., but less numerous, which can easily be accounted for owing to the shortness of his reign, which was probably of less duration than a year. He was killed whilst fighting the Danes. His name is always written in full, some times spelt REDVLF and others REDVVLF, and followed by his title REX, or some portion thereof.

The following is a list of moneyers' names, of which specimens are represented in the British Museum collection:—

ALGHERE	FORDRED
BROÐER	HVAETNOÐ
COENRED	HVNLAF
CVÐBERHT	MONNE
EANRED	VENDELBERHT

The following is a list of moneyers' names of which specimens are not represented in the British Museum collection:—

AVREG (Heywood)	ODILO (Heywood)
EARDVLF (York)	WINTRED (York)
HERRREÐ (York)	WLFRED (Heywood)

OSBERCHT (848-867).

On the death of Æthelred II., Osbercht came to the throne, and reigned peacefully until 862, in which year the kingdom was divided between Osbercht and Ella. The occasion of the division of North Humbria is attributed to Osbercht, who kept his court at York, returning one day from hunting, he had a mind to refresh himself at the house of Earl Bruern, guardian of the coasts against the interruptions of the Danes. The earl happened to be from home; his countess, to whose charm-

ing beauty was joined the most engaging behaviour, entertained her sovereign with the respect due to his rank. Osbercht, ravished at the sight of so much beauty, became in an instant desperately in love with her, and resolved, regardless of consequences, to gratify his passion without delay. Accordingly, on pretence of having some matters of importance to communicate to her, in the absence of the earl, led her insensibly into a private room, where, after several attempts to bring her to comply by persuasion, attempted force. He left the countess in that excess of vexation that it was impossible for her to hide the cause from the earl, who at once resolved to be revenged. Accordingly, by the management of the earl, the Bernicians in a little time revolted, and elected another king named Ella, whom they placed on the throne. Thus the old divisions of North Humbria were kindled afresh. A long civil war was the consequence, and Earl Bruern resolved to procure the assistance of the Danes, who were at Southampton. In the spring of 867 Iva and his brother Hubba entered the Humber, under the conduct of Earl Bruern, with a numerous fleet. Iva marched directly to York, where Osbercht was preparing an army to oppose him. Osbercht applied to Ella for assistance, who with all possible expedition brought him a powerful reinforcement. They joined their forces to drive the Danes out of North Humbria, but were defeated and both killed outside York.

There is another reason given for the Danes coming to North Humbria, namely, the barbarous murder of Edmund. The story goes that Lodebroch, king of Denmark, going a-hawking in a boat, was driven out to sea by a storm, and cast on the English coast near Yarmouth. He was seized and brought to Edmund's

court, then king of East Anglia, who, finding him a great sportsman, was pleased with his company. Bern, the king's falconer, perceiving himself outdone in his own business by the royal guest, drew him into a wood on pretence of showing him game, and barbarously murdered him. Lodebroch's dog, almost starved, came to the palace, and being fed went away again. The dog having done this several times made the king's servants follow him, and thus were brought to a sight of the murdered king. Bern was tried for the murder, and, being found guilty, was condemned to be put into the Danish king's boat, and committed to the mercy of the sea without tackling or provision. He had the good fortune to be carried to the Danish shore. The boat being known, Bern was apprehended, and examined about the Danish king. He told them that the king, being cast on the coast of East Anglia, was put to death by King Edmund's order; upon which Iva and Hubba, Lodebroch's sons, sailed for East Anglia with a numerous army, but were forced by bad weather into North Humbria.

Specimens of Osbercht's coins were found at York, but not at Hexham, so it is clear that the Hexham find was deposited prior to 848. His types are similar to those of Redulf, but more numerous. The coins of Osbercht are scarcer than those of Redulf. The king's name is spelt variously, and sometimes his title REX is altogether omitted. The letters H T in his name are frequently monogramed. Ælla, who probably was a tributary king, appears not to have struck coins. Osbercht's coins are nearly always struck in orichalcum.

The following is a list of moneyers' names of which specimens are represented in the British Museum collection:—

EANVVLF (sometimes written BANVLF and RANVLF)	VINIBERHT
MONNE	VVLFSIG

The following is a list of moneyers' names of which specimens are not represented in the British Museum collection:—

CVÐBERHT (Keary)	ENBRM (York)
EANRED (York)	ERVVINNE (Keary)
EARDVVLF (Heywood)	EDELHELM (Heywood)
EDVINI (Heywood)	VVLFRED (Heywood)

ARCHIEPISCOPAL COINS.

ECGBERHT (734-766).

The coins of this prelate are exceedingly rare and are struck in silver.

O. ECGBERHTS=A bishop to right holding two long crosses.
R. OTBEREVHTEΓ=A circle of dots enclosing a pellet (B. M. collection).

O. ECGBERHT AR=A bishop to right holding two long crosses.
R. EOTBEREHTV Γ·=A cross (N. H.'s collection).

The above two coins were struck during Eadberht's reign.

O. EGBERHT AR=A cross.
R. EDIΓHDΓV=A cross.

This coin is in the collection of Mr. Rashleigh, and appears to belong to the reign of Ethilwald.

O. EGBERHT AR=A cross.
R. ATHBALDIV=A cross.

The last-described coin probably belongs to the reign of Ethilwald.

O. ECGBERHT.A.R=A cross.
R. +AL·CHRDC=A cross. (Æ.)

This coin belongs to the reign of Alchred and is in the collection of Lord Grantley (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vols. xiii. and xvii.).

O. +ECƆƎRHT.A=A cross.
R. +ALCHRD.C=A cross.

This coin also is in the collection of Lord Grantley (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol. xvii.).

EANBALD (796).

The stycas of this prelate are frequently struck in silver, and the types are similar to those of Eanred, during whose reign they were struck. The name of the archbishop is found written in various ways, and is often followed by AREP, or some part thereof. His coins are rare. He appears to have employed five moneyers:—

AEDILRED (Heywood) Æ.

This styca was found at Bolton Percy. The parcel from which it came contained several stycas of Eanred and ten of Eanbald. The prelate's title does not appear.

CVNVVLF (B. M.)
EARDVVLF (B. M.)
EÐELVVEARD (B. M.)
MONNE (Creeke)

VIGMUND (831-854).

This archbishop's name is variously spelt on his coins, which are all stycas, with the exception of a gold solidus in the British Museum collection weighing a trifle over sixty-eight grains, reading as follows:—

O. VIGMVND AREP=Tonsured full-faced bust.
R. MANVS DIVINVM=A cross pattée within a chaplet.

The archbishop's name is usually followed by AREP, or IREP, or some abbreviation thereof. His stycas have hitherto been found in fine condition, and struck in copper. A specimen in my cabinet, however, is struck in base silver (*Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vol.

viii.). His types are similar to those of Eanbald. The following is a list of his moneyers' names:—

COENRED (B. M.)	EDELVVEARD (B. M.)
EARDVVLF (B. M.)	ERVVINNE (B. M.)
ELFHEARD (York)	HVNLAF (B. M.)
EDELHELM (B. M.)	WILHEAH (Keary)

ULFHERE (854-895).

This prelate's coins are very rare, and resemble those of Vigmund in type, but having a stronger tendency to ornament. A specimen formerly in Major Creeke's collection (but unfortunately lost by him) was struck in fine silver. The moneyer was EARDVVF, and Mr. H. S. Gill, of Tiverton, had a similar coin of the moneyer VVLFRED, except that the silver was less fine. This prelate's coins are rarely struck in silver.

DEÆ MATRES.

BY HENRY COLLEY MARCH, M.D., F.S.A.

TO treat of the myriad divinities that once filled the place of what we now call "the forces" of Nature is to deal with the very beginnings of conceptual thought. Before all other personages they were. They nourished the youth and growth of the great gods to whom cosmogonic powers were afterwards assigned. From the rock that sat with "furrowed brow and wrinkled loins" to the fountain that burst forth into movement and song; from celestial stillness and beauty to the waves and winds of disaster; all phenomena were wrought by the spirits whose energy was never at rest.

Could it only have been possible for man to link himself to those divine beings, to place himself on the side of those angels; to float on the stream that they moved, with the gale that they fanned; to learn the wisdom of birds, and follow the strategy of animal cunning; to be happy with the flowers, and know the forest for a friend; to call the mountains by name, and seek in their caverns a refuge and a home. Could it only have been possible to secure some sign, some token, a feather even, a black stone, a tuft of hair, a translucent pebble; any totemistic

proof of divine companionship, any warrant for the beatific vision that might some day gladden human eyes, the sight of nymph, or sylph or mother goddess; and any warning of the fate that befalls the unworthy when dire agents drag him to destruction.

The Dwarfs dwelt everywhere in the caves. They were scarcely thought of otherwise than as epicene, though they became masculine or feminine, as their varied tasks implied. The Northmen knew their designations, and accounted Mótsogni to be the mightiest of them all and Durin to be the second.

And the Dactyls of Mount Ida were also known by name. There was Acmon the Anvil and Celmis the Smelter. They were well denominated "Fingers," their industry was so fertile and unflagging; and they were five in number, or ten, and then half of them were male and half were female. They discovered fire and the use of bronze and iron (*τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου*).*

The Telchīnes, too, invented useful arts, and were workers in bronze and iron. In their feminine aspect, as Telchiniæ, they were the Nymphs to whom Rhea entrusted the nurture of Poseidon. And they were thought to be able to control storms and to transform themselves into other shapes.†

Et tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.‡ The Curetes, at first, were nine in number. Some were the offspring of the Earth, and some were descended from the Idæan Dactyls. They dwelt in the mountains, under the shade of thick trees, and in caves; and they discovered many profitable things.§ They were called Curetes from their nurture (*κουροτροφήσαντες*)|| of the

* Diod., v. 64.
† *Ibid*, v. 55.
‡ *Æneid*, iii. 131.
§ *Ibid*, v. 65.
|| Strabo, x. 19.

Cretan Zeus. They took charge of him and lodged him in a grotto, and the Nymphs, Adrasteia and Ida, fed him with milk and honey; whilst another, Amalthæa, suckled him, though some say his foster-mother was a goat.*

The Epeirian Zeus was brought up by Dodonæan Nymphs; the Zeus of Arcadia by the Nymphs Theison, Neda, and Hagno; and the infant Bacchus was entrusted to the fruitful Nymphs of Rain, Philia, Coronis, and Cleis.†

Through Cabeira Vulcan had three grandsons, the Cabeiri, and three granddaughters, the Nymphs Cabeirides. They were protectors of the fruits of the field, and their effigies, Herodotus takes care to say,‡ were no bigger than dwarfs or pigmies. Their impersonators took part in reproductive pageants, and in the mysteries of Samothrace.§ Dionysus classes them with the Roman Penates, whose statues, of small size, were placed in sacred recesses. In Lemnos and Imbros, and in the Troad, the Cabeiri were the objects of divine worship, but their temples were built in uninhabited places.‖

Corybas was a son of Cybele,¶ and the Corybantes were adored as ministers of the gods, whilst their impersonators performed orgiastic rites. Hinc mater cultrix Cybelæ, Corybantiaque æra.[1] But by some the Corybantes were regarded as the dæmon children of Minerva and the Sun, whilst others considered that the Corybantes, Cabeiri, Idæan Dactyls, and Telchines were all the same beings as the Curetes.[2]

This apparent confusion arises partly from religious overlapping and partly from an attempt to give locality

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* Diod., v. 70.

† *Ibid*, v. 52. Ovid, *Fast.*, v. 166, 172.

‡ iii. 37.

§ *Ibid*, ii. 51.

‖ Strabo, x. 3. Herod, iii. 37.

¶ Diod., v. 49.

[1] *Æneid*, iii. 111.

[2] Strabo, x. 3.

or nationality, and even personality, to what were only general ideas. This tendency may be observed even in the prayers of the Avesta, "We worship this earth which bears us, together with thy wives, O Ahura-Mazda . . . and you, O ye waters, we worship, you that are showered down, and you that stand in pools, ye female Ahuras, that serve us in helpful ways."*

The mysterious beings that existed before man, that discovered fire and the metals, that invented arts and implements, that are busy in solitary places and dance where human feet never tread, that pour out perpetual streams from the hollows in which they live, without whose aid even the gods were not nurtured; these creatures of the imagination must be individualised and distinguished by names, and must be endowed with the sex that better befits their specialised functions, of which not the least important concerned the birth and nutrition of a child. Thus Daphnis, a son of Mercury, was not only brought up by Nymphs, but a Nymph was his mother, *Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Νύμφης υἱόν . . . ὑπω Νύμφων τραφέντα*;† and the mountain-dwelling, deep-bosomed Nymphs, *βαθύκολπαι Νύμφαι*, who ate ambrosial food, were nurses of Aphrodite.‡

If we turn now to the nations of the north, we find the Norns, the weird sisters, who were Urd, the Past; Verdande, Present or Becoming; and Skuld, the Future. How inseparable is the number three from religious beliefs! These Destinies resemble the Moiræ, and yet are not identical with Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, though three Norns were present at the birth of every man and cast the weird of his life.

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* Ragozin's *Med.*, 62. † Diod., iv. 84.
‡ Hom., *Hym.*, 261.

There is frequent mention of them in the sagas. "Night lay over the house when the Norns came, when Helgi was born. They twisted the strands of fate for Borghild's son."* "The Norns have sent me a terrible dream, their forebodings of evil have awakened me."† "Alas!" said Angantheow, who, through a malevolent intrigue, had fought against and slain his brother, "there is a curse upon us, evil was the Norns' doom."‡ "No man can live over the evening that the Norns foretold."§

But there were many other Norns, for some of them were descended from the gods and some from the elves, whilst some were the daughters of the dwarfs.|| The elves dwelt in the fields flooded with light and air, and Weyland, the Smith, was their lord.¶ But the dwarfs abode in caves, for the sun was death to them. This distinction is manifest in the names they gave to things, for whilst the elves called the earth "growing" and heaven "fair-roof" and the moon "year-teller," for they had no better use for her, the dwarfs on the contrary called earth "clay" and heaven "drip-hall" and the moon "brightness," for she was their only light.[1]

But the Norns resemble the Nymphs in their attachment to fountains. Deep down in a cave a spring flows from beneath one of the roots of Yggdrasil, the Holy Ash, and there three maidens obtain the water with which they continually sprinkle the leaves of the Tree. The stream is Urðar brunn, Urd's burn, the fountain of past things.

We are fortunate enough to be able to see what these words describe. A sculptured stone was found adjacent

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* *Helgi and Segrún*, i. 5.
† *Corp. Bor.*, i. 347.
‡ *A.'s Lay*, 108-9.
§ *Hamtheow's Lay*, 135.
|| *Wolsung's Play*, 111-2.
¶ *Lay of Weyland*, 41.

[1] *Alviss Mal.*

to a bath at High Rochester, a station held, during the Roman occupation, partly by the Lingones and partly by the Varduli, a people of Spain. The sculpture represents a grotto (fig. 1) in which we recognise at once the Sacred Ash, the Brook Weird, and the three Norns. In accordance with their character as Naiades, and as befits the task on which they are engaged, they are entirely unclad. At Borcovicus, which was garrisoned by the Tungri, three half-draped Nymphs stand by a gushing stream (fig. 2). At Netherhall, however, a station manned by Spanish troops, a sculpture represents three naked Nymphs standing in three separate niches.

And we are fortunate also to have been told a good deal about the Nymphs of the Mediterranean shores. As they betokened the immanence of life and force in Nature, their number was indefinite. How was it that trees could spring up and grow, that water could flow unceasingly from the earth? It was the work of the Nymphs, with whom the readers of Homer are so familiar.

They inhabit lofty wood-covered mountains* and the sources of streams.† They frequent delightful caves, in which bees store their honey and fountains ever run.‡ They have beautiful dancing-places in lawns and groves.§ Their beds are in the clefts of remote rocks.|| They cause the birth of elm¶ and beech and oak.[1]

The Nymphs called Dryades were even supposed to reside in trees and to perish when the latter died. Drops of blood that fell from the wounded Uranus, the heaven, upon Gaia, the earth, produced the Melian Nymphs,

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* *Od.*, xiii. 107, 356.
† *Ib.*, vi. 123.
‡ *Ib.*, xiii. 107.
§ *Ib.*, xii. 318; *Ib.*, xx. 8.
|| *Ib.*, xxiv. 615.
¶ *Od.*, xiii. 107.

[1] *Hym. Aphr.*, 262.

with whose name may be compared μήλον, a sheep or goat, and μηλέα, an apple tree or ash.

The goddess Nymphs, Θεαὶ Νύμφαι, though doubtless, from an anthropological point of view, older than the great gods, were in Greek mythology subordinate divinities. They were worshipped sometimes in groves or grottoes, and sometimes in proper sanctuaries. The whole country of Elis, according to Strabo,* contained temples dedicated to the Nymphs, placed where trees and water abounded. The oblations offered to them were of swine,† goats, and lambs, with milk and oil,‡ but never with wine; rural and natural, but not artificial products. Homer speaks of a wide cave, where many perfect hecatombs were sacrificed to the Nymphs;§ and of a grove of poplars by a cool stream which flowed down from a lofty rock, where all travellers made offerings.||

Theocritus, in his thirteenth idyl (B.C. 227), lets us know more about them. Hylas, the fair youth, taking with him a bronze vessel, χάλκεον ἄγγος, went off to get some drinking water for Heracles and the steadfast Telamon, and soon found it in a hollow where thick rushes grew, and wild parsley, and spreading river grass. In the midst of the water Nymphs were disporting, those Nymphs that never tire, the wondrous rural goddesses Eunice and Malis and the sweet Nychia, and as he eagerly dipped his urn into the stream the enamoured Nymphs seized his hand, all of them together, and drew him down into the dark water, and there they took the weeping boy on their knees and tenderly caressed him. But Heracles, concerned at the boy's absence, armed

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* viii. 8.
† *Od.*, xiv. 435.
‡ *Ib.*, xvii. 240.
§ *Ib.*, xiii. 350.
|| *Ib.*, xvii. 211.

himself and went in search of him. And thrice he called "Hylas!" as loudly as his deep throat could holloa, and thrice the boy heard and returned a supplicating cry; but his voice, coming from beneath the water, sounded faint and far off. Do not such entreaties come to us in every echo?

By later poets the subject is elaborated. Longus, of the fourth century, himself a pagan, had been to the island of Lesbos, where was the city of Mitylene; and he tells us that near by was a grotto sacred to the Nymphs, where their statues were carved in stone. Their feet were bare, their arms naked to the shoulders, upon which fell their long hair, their tunics girt about the waist (see fig. 2). A smile sat on their faces, and their whole appearance was that of a troop of dancers. The dome of the grotto rose in the midst of the rock; water from a fountain formed a running stream; and a fair meadow spread its plenty before the entrance. Within were suspended milk pails and crooks, and cloaks of goat-skin, and flutes and pastoral pipes. These were all votive offerings which the shepherds had made with their own hands.

Here bathed Daphnis and Chloe, and learned too well the beauty of each other's body. Daphnis, having lost Chloe, went to look for her in the grotto, and in its pleasant coolness lay down and fell asleep. Whilst slumbering the three Nymphs appeared to stand before him, tall and beautiful, half naked, and without sandals, with hair flowing loose over their shoulders. And it was the eldest of them who addressed him. And he awoke, and following the instructions he had received recovered Chloe. Filled with gratitude, he took the choicest of his she goats, crowned it with ivy, poured milk between its horns, and sacrificed it to the Nymphs;

and afterwards suspended the skin as an offering to them. And to Pan a he goat was sacrificed, its head bound with a chaplet of pine leaves and suffused with a libation of wine, whilst the skin, with the horns attached, was hung on a tree hard by the statue of the god. But they paid their adoration to the Nymphs first, and afterwards to Pan. And ever, when the snows have melted, the first place to which they hasten is the grotto of the Nymphs, where they crown the statues and pour out libations of milk.

> They wander on,
> O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till,
> The winter gone,
> With the sweet spring those angel faces smile,
> Which they had loved long since and lost awhile.

And we find a reminiscence of the goddess Nymphs as late as the seventh century even in this country. For the historian of Evesham relates that a shepherd called Eoues, who had seen many wonders in a certain spot, saw there one day a most lovely maiden, surpassing in splendour the sun's light, who held a book in her hands, and sang, with two other girls, celestial songs. When this was told to the blessed Egwin, bishop of Worcester, he was unable to rest until, having prepared his mind by fasting and prayer, he advanced barefoot and alone to the same place, and there, prostrate upon the earth, with groans and tears, he besought a vision of the Holy Mother of his Redeemer. And when he rose he beheld three virgins as glorious as those the shepherd had seen, whilst she who stood in their midst outshone them, whiter than any lily, fairer and more fragrant than the rose. And she bore in her hands not a book only, but also a cross that gleamed like gold. So he knew that this was indeed Christ's Mother. And when she had blessed him she

vanished; but on that holy spot Evesham Abbey was built.

Votive altars were raised to the Nymphs, and many have been discovered in this country. One, at the Abbot's Well, Great Boughton, Chester, is inscribed NYMPHIS / ET FONTIBVS / LEG. XX. / V.V.; and offerings of vases and coins were found in the same place. Others are DEABVS NYMPHIS and NYMPHAE SANCTAE on Hadrian's Wall, and NYMPHIS / VEXILLATIO / LEG. VI. VIC., together with a sculptured figure on the Wall of Antoninus. Elsewhere we find NYMPHIS / AVG. SACR / APPVLEIVS / FINITI / V.S.L.M. and DEAE NYMPHAE BRIGANTIAE.

There were Nymphs of a special Order, the Campestres, who were connected with agriculture, and to whom altars were raised. At Castlehill was found one with the inscription CAMPES / TRIBVS ET / BRITANNI / - - - - COH IIII GAL, which has been thus enlarged: Campestribus Æternis Britanniæ, Cohortis quartæ Gallorum. At Edinburgh is one inscribed CAMPESTR / SACRVM; and on an altar found at Auchindavy these Nymphs are associated with Mars and Minerva, MARTI / MINERVAE / CAMPESTRI / BVS. Strabo tells us* that "in the territory of the Apollonatæ, in Illyria, is what is called a Nymphæum. It is a rock which emits fire, and below it are springs flowing with hot water and bitumen." The labours of Hercules were refreshed by the Nymphs of Sicily, who opened for him hot bathing places, θερμὰ λουτρὰ, that remained to the days of Diodorus.† Indeed, springs of medicinal efficacy, real or reputed, were especially assigned to these goddesses. A Pannonian altar, on which is sculptured a drinking vessel, is inscribed NIMPHIS / MEDICIS / SACRVM.

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* *Lib.*, vii. 105. † iv. 23.

Another remarkable example is afforded by the well discovered at Procolitia, on the Wall of Hadrian. It was filled by a number of small votive altars, and contained a multitude of offertorial coins, which ranged from some denarii of M. Antonius, B.C. 43, to some brass of Gratianus, A.D. 370, and included many of Magnentius, A.D. 350, stamped with the Christian monogram. Between the dates mentioned there are coins that represent the reign of nearly every Roman emperor, and the number of pieces amounted to fifteen thousand.

The well was fed by three springs, which are shown by a sculpture to have been under the guardianship of three Nymphs, who, half reclining, each by her own fountain, in a separate grotto, hold aloft a vessel of the healing water (fig. 3). Their bare feet, naked shoulders, and falling hair recall the Nymphs that Daphnis beheld. But a spring of so much importance was not to be left to the care of ordinary Naiades. A temple was built over it, where a special divinity was adored. A votive tablet, which represents her half draped, with braided hair, holding a branch of some Tree of Life, and reclining by a conventional stream (fig. 4), is inscribed DEAE / COVVENTINAE / T D COSCONIA / NVS – PR – COH / I – BAT – L – M, or Deæ Coventinæ, Titus Domitius Cosconianus, Cohortis primæ Batavorum, Libens merito. The Batavians lived by the embouchure of the Rhine.

Three of the altars found in the well also refer to her, and are respectively inscribed DEAE NIM / FAE COVEN / TINE, where the spelling of the second word should be noted; DEAE SANC COVONTINE; and COVETINA AVGVSTA.

A sculptured Neptune was also found at Procolitia, and in the well itself an altar to Minerva. At Chichester, to these two divinities, as father and daughter, a temple was jointly dedicated. Indeed Minerva's most ancient

temples were generally situated by a stream, or on a bluff overlooking the sea.* One of her surnames was Tritonides, and many streams and fountains called Triton, as in Crete and Thessaly, claimed the honour of her birth; but especially a river of that name on which Nysa stood, where was a spacious grotto in which a son of the Nymph Amalthæa was nurtured by Minerva's aid.† Alacomenæ, in Bœotia, that stands on a river Triton, once held a temple of Minerva,‡ and for her dear sake the Nymphs of Sicily opened springs of hot water, θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγὰς.§

Littré assures us that sylph is a Gaulish term, and is equivalent to the Latin word "genius." Such variants are met with as *sulfi*, *sylfi*, *sylphi*, *sulfæ*, *sulevæ*, and *suleviæ*. Among the Inscriptiones Helveticæ collected by Orelli is *Sulfis suis qui nostram curam agunt.*‖ They were goddesses of locality, and, resembling the Νύμφαι χθόνιαι, were adored by similar oblations. At Rutchester, Northumberland, is an altar inscribed to the Sulevæ, on which is represented a swine about to be sacrificed. They were sometimes sculptured in triads. They were venerated in conjunction with the Campestres, as on a stone of the time of Antoninus Pius, found at Rome: SVLEVIS ET CAMPESTRIBVS SACRVM. They have been sometimes regarded as Mother Goddesses, for an altar found at Colchester is thus inscribed: MATRIBVS / SVLEVIS / SIMILIS ATTI F / CI CANT / S L S. And they were sometimes associated with Minerva, as on an altar found at Nimes: SVLIVIAE IDENNICAE MINERVAE VOTVM. It may be noted here, for what it is worth, that Pliny speaks of the Sylui as a people of Iberia.

The important Roman station at Bath possessed a hot

* Strabo.
† Diod., iii. 68-70.
‡ *Il.*, iv. 8.
§ Diod., v. 3.
‖ 117.

spring which still flows. Here, too, has been found an altar to the same divinities: SVLEVIS / SVLINVS / SCVLTOR / BRVCETI F / SACRVM F.L.M. (set up by Sulinus, son of Brucetus). But no more here than at Procolitia was the spring left altogether in charge of ordinary Naides. Its presidency was assigned to a single Sylph in association with Minerva. Another Sulinus, a son of Maturus, raised an altar to her, DEAE / SVLI MI / NERVAE / SVLINVS / MATV / RI – FIL / V-S-L-M. She had the further honour of being joined, on a very elegant altar, with the divinities of the emperors, DEAE SV / LI MIN ET NV / MIN AVGG C / CVRIATIVS / – – – LEG II AVG / PRO SE SV/IS QVE / V.S.L.M. And, lastly, like Coventina, the goddess appears alone, DEAE SVLI / PRO SALVTE ET / INCOLVMITATE, "for the health and soundness of Marcus Aufidius Lemnus," who was doubtless cured by the virtue of her medicinal waters.

Four inscriptions, already noted, may now with advantage be compared:—

DEAE NYMPHAE BRIGANTIAE
DEAE NIMFAE COVENTINE
SVLIVIAE IDENNICAE MINERVAE
DEAE SVLI MINERVAE

Juno was the protectress of women and especially, as her surnames Matrona and Lucina imply, of women in their married state. Speaking of her in this light Ovid says:—

> Mater amat nuptas . . .
> . . . Ferte deæ flores,
> Dicite, Tu nobis lucem, Lucina dedisti;
> Dicite, Tu voto parturientis ades.
> Si qua tamen gravida est, resoluto crine precetur
> Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.*

* *Fast.*, iii. 251.

In her honour was held, on the 1st of March, the festival called Matronalia, and in her surname Natalis women made oblations to her on their birthday.

> Natalis Juno, sanctos cape thuris honores
> Quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu,
> Tota tibi est hodie . . .
> Annue, purpureaque veni perlucida palla,
> . . . Veniet cum proxinus annus,
> Hic idem votis jam vetus adsit amor.*

There is abundant evidence, however, that Juno has here assumed both the name and function of those Nymphs of old, who were called indifferently Matronae and Junones. Men sacrificed to their Genius Natalis and women to their Juno Natalis. This fact has enabled Mommsen to enlarge the following inscription: GENIO LUCII NOSTRI / IVNONI CLIVANAE NOSTRAE / IVNONI ANNAEAE NOSTRAE / VITELLIA / RESTITVTA. These imperishable divinities are revealed by their altars. We find one at Verona inscribed IVNONIBVS / AVGustis. At Milan are two, both inscribed MATRONIS / IVNONIBVS. On Lake Como, MATRONIS ET GENIIS, and elsewhere SANCTIS MATRONIS: DIVIS MATRONIS: and MATRONIS / ET DIS DEABVS.

That they were placated by a system of sacrifices is proved by a monument found in Italy. It is inscribed MATRONIS SACRVM, and displays two sculptured scenes. One represents an altar upon which a sacerdotal person is pouring a libation, a worshipper or attendant is bringing forward a lamb or kid, and a tibicen, that might be boy or girl, is playing on a pipe. The other scene is of five Nymphs. They are fully robed; but, with hands linked, they are joining in a graceful dance. Their dactylic number, the nature of the oblation, the rustic

* *Tibul*, IV. vi.

music and dance make the long robes incongruous. Another Italian altar (fig. 5), inscribed MATRONIS, is sculptured with a similar group. There are five Nymphs, who dance with linked hands and flowing hair; but, again, their robes are long. It would appear that some change in ritual is in progress, and this is further shown by an altar in the Cologne Museum inscribed MATRONIS / AFLIABVS. Here (fig. 6) the fully-robed Matronæ are three in number, are seated, and each of them holds on her knees a basket of fruit. They, thus, closely approach the normal representation of Deæ Matres, but the recess which they occupy is grotto-like, and the seat on which they rest is undivided. They seem no longer connected with birthdays, but are become divinities of locality. That this change was wrought by an influence emanating from the cult of the Deæ Matres is suggested by their votive association. On an altar found at Lugdunum or Lyons is the inscription MATRONIS ET MATRIBVS. Among the ruins of a temple, near Thun, were discovered six small bronze axes, on each of which was one of the following names: Jovi, Mercurio, Neptuno, Minervæ, Matribus, Matronis.

The Deæ Matres are always three in number, and are, in a typical presentment, fully robed and enthroned on three separate chairs, which are often arched over so as to form a common recess (fig. 7). They may be entirely without "attributes," but usually some symbol of plenty safety, or health is assigned to them.

There are, however, frequent departures from this type. Sometimes one of the goddesses wears more sumptuous attire than the others. They are not always on separate chairs, nor always seated, but sometimes stand erect.

Their attributes are very varied. A basket of fruit or a chaplet of flowers may rest on their knees. They may

grasp a circle that looks more like the sign of maternity than a conventional wreath. The rudder of Neptune may lie beside them. A cornucopia may be held in one hand, or the solar wheel in the other; but they are not on that account to be confused with the goddess Fortuna. The lotus of Isis and the modius of Serapis have been allotted to them; and even the knotted staff of Asclepias and the serpent of his daughter, Hygeia.

The serpent that cast off a slough but died not was a symbol of renovation. It was able to discover herbs of healing virtue, and guarded wells of salutary efficacy. Serpents were used in the worship of the Bona Dea; and they were sacred to Athene, one of whose statues by Pheidias represents her with a spear in her right hand and standing upon a serpent. Salus is shown, with a rudder at her feet, sitting by an altar round which a serpent has wound itself. Asclepias, whose mythological connection with serpents is so close, was believed to possess the power of restoring the dead to life; *τῶν τετελευτηκότων ποιεῖν πάλιν ζῶντας.**

The serpent is a familiar object on mystic gems. There we see the lion-headed, solar snake, with a twelve-rayed crest to signify the months of the year, and with the legend ANOX – ANOX – XNOYMIC, "I, I am the good Genius" (fig. 8). And we see a similar symbol of the Agathodæmon, the good Spirit (fig. 9), to whom the engraver has given seven horns and a legend of the same name, XNOVMIC.† Agathodæmon talismans had a reverse that was always occupied by what is sometimes called "the triple S upon a bar" (fig. 10), which greatly resembles the staff of Asclepias. That it is, in fact, a symbol of the divine power that encircles the devout soul, guards

* Diod, iv. 71. † King's *Gnostics.*

it from evil, and assures its restoration to life, is evidenced on another gem by a mummy-like figure encompassed within the coils of a huge serpent (fig. 11).* All these things may serve to remind us of the extent to which the cult of the Deæ Matres has been affected by the religions that environed it.

We learn from Diodorus† that "the Cretans, who came over to Sicily, built there a fortified city called Engium, Ἔγγυον, constructed within it a temple to the Mothers, and most devoutly adored those goddesses (κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὸν τῶν Μητέρων, διαφόρως ἐτίμων τὰς θεάς)." He further observes that "they are not only worshipped by the inhabitants of this city, but several of the neighbouring countries propitiate them with pompous and magnificent sacrifices, for the Pythonic oracles enjoined that to these goddesses should be accorded the highest honour by any persons or states that desired happiness and prosperity. Accordingly, rich gifts of gold and silver were dedicated to them, and are continued to this very time (B.C. 8), and the Sicilians have erected for them a most sumptuous temple of stone, though no stone lay near." It is this structure that Cicero calls "augustissimum et religiosisimum fanum."‡

Diodorus gives as a reason for such extraordinary veneration of the Deæ Matres that long ago they concealed Zeus from the cannibal desires of his father, Cronos, and carefully nurtured him; wherefore they were exalted to the heavens, and were made into the stars that are now called Ursæ.§

A larger view of these divinities can be obtained by a consideration of the altars that were everywhere addressed to

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* *Cf.* Lee's *Glossary Eccl. Terms*, illustration, p. 85.
† iv. 79, 80.
‡ Verr., iv. 44, 72.
§ iv. 5.

them. They were regarded not merely as nurses of the gods, but as deities of locality; and not only of Crete and Sicily, but of widely scattered cities and countries and peoples. An altar found in London reads MATRIB / ITALIS GER / MANIS / GAL BRIT: Matribus Italis, Germanis, Gallicis, Britannicis, Antonius Cretianus, Beneficiarius Consulis restituit. One of York reads MATRI / BVS DO / MESTICIS; and two more like it were found on the Wall of Hadrian. The Roman Legionaries had not forgotten their home, but it was over sea. At Binchester they raised an altar inscribed MATR / TRAMAR / EQVIT AL / VETT C R / VSLM: Matribus Transmarinis Equites Alæ Vettonum Civium Romanorum, Votum Solverunt Libentes Meritis. The Vettoni were a people of Portugal.

The Mothers' divine rank is often acknowledged, as at Chester, DEAB / MAT / RIBVS, or, at Ribchester, DEIS MATRIBUS / M INGENVI / VS ASIATICVS, or again at Binchester, DEAB / MATRIB OLOT / OTIS, and IOM / ET MATRIB / VS OLLOTO / TIS SIVE TRA / NSMARINIS / – – – – PRO / SALVTE SVA / ET SVORVM.

On the Wall of Antoninus they are associated with the Campestres, MATRIB ALA / TERVIS ET / MATRIB CAM / PESTRI COH / TVNGR – – –. On other altars we find Matres Comedovæ, Matres Vapthiæ, on the Rhine; Matres Triviræ or Trier, Matres Vacallinehæ, and Matribus Gabiabus, Mopatibus, Vediantibus, an Alpine people; and Gerudatiabus, found near Gironne in Spain. In addition there are altars to Matribus Africanis, Matribus Delmatarum, Matribus Pannoniorum, and lastly, on the Wall of Hadrian, Matribus Omnium Gentium.

That they were at one time goddesses of maternity is shown by Diodorus, and their connection with child birth is seen on a pedestal found in Carlisle, which is inscribed MATRIB – PARC – PRO – SALVT / SANCTIAE GEMINAE.

The Matres were often denominated Augustæ, Dominæ, and Heræ. As "hera" signifies the mistress of a household, the expression Matres Domesticæ is explained, and one is tempted to look for their origin in a matriarchal state of society like that of the ancient Chaldæans. They have been found clothed with the dogskin, which was a frequent covering of the Lares; and, like the Lares, they were placed in recesses that may have been a reminiscence of the grotto. Home and country were dearly prized by the Romans. The last words of Coriolanus were, "Et vos, O Dii Penates, et Lares Patrii, Geniique Loci Præsides, valete!"

Tacitus observes* that the Germans revered as goddesses a number of prophetic women, *fatidicæ feminæ;* and it has been suggested that they were the Deæ Matres. There is no warrant for the supposition.

A "mother" is that which brings forth, whether animate or inanimate. Mr. Hewitt, in speaking of the Dravidians, tells us† that the divine mother Earth was once the centre of a triad of which Varuna, the heaven, and Mitra, the moon, were the other members. Sacrifice was offered to the "Three Mothers." This oblation, of great antiquity, was called Rudra Triambakah. Human, equine, bovine, ovine, and caprarian sacrifices were made to them, and the blood was poured into the earth for the purpose of fertilising it.

The German tribes worshipped a feminine divinity, Terra Mater,‡ on whose favour their prosperity depended. The Greeks and Latins called her Gaia and Tellus. Thor was born of Fjörgyn, or Mother Earth.

* *Hist.*, iv. 61.

† *R. Asiatic Jour.*, 1890, p. 350.

‡ *Tac. Germ.*, xl.

The Matres Deum were adored by sacrifices that indicate that they, too, were once goddesses of locality, *θεαὶ χθόνιαι.* Gaia received offerings of black sheep; Demeter of swine, honey, and fruits. It is expressly stated that "ruby wine was unlawful for her,"* and though libations of wine were made for the Bona Dea it was called milk, and the vessel containing it mellarium. Their sedile attitude must not be forgotten. Gaia and Rhea, the Magna Mater, and Demeter usually sat enthroned, as did in early days Athene or Minerva herself. For Strabo points out that the most ancient statues of Minerva, as those at Phocæ, Massalia, Rome, and Chios, are found in that posture,† whilst Homer directs a robe, as a placatory offering, to be placed on her knees.‡

Not much is known of the ceremonial worship of the Deæ Matres. On an altar at Magnæ, inscribed MATRIB, the sculptured sacerdotal person is a woman; and on the altar to the Matronæ already mentioned those who are officiating may well be women too.

A number of articles pertaining to the worship of the Deæ Matres were found in the county of Durham, and comprise a large silver patera, a small silver dish, two silver incense spoons, five gold finger rings, two gold chains with pendants, a gold bracelet, a pair of fibulæ, a mirror, and two hundred and eighty denarii with two brass coins of Antoninus Pius. On the handle of the patera is inscribed MATR – FAB – DVBIT (fig. 12).

The mirror and the personal adornments assuredly belong to women, and it would seem to women engaged in sacerdotal functions. One of the rings is in the shape

* Homer, *Hym. Cer.* † ii. 367.
‡ *Il.*, vi. 92, 273, 305.

of a coiled serpent with two heads. Another ring has this legend MATRUM – CO^{V}CV^{O}AE (fig. 13), of which the second word has eluded interpretation. The letters that compose it are not cut but are separately stamped. C may take the place of Q, as in acua for aqua, and in that case one stamp would suffice for two letters. If it be supposed that the artificer intended to strike the word COCVAE, but inadvertently transposed O and V, and that he afterwards attempted to correct his error by stamping, in each case, the right letter over the wrong one, the result would be the word in question. This supposition certainly supplies a meaning, "The Mothers' cook," however doubtful it may appear.

The complete word MATRUM on the ring makes it probable that the contraction MATR on the handle of the patera has the same significance, and that the sentence should be thus enlarged, Matrum Fabiae Dubitatae, a priestess of the Mothers.

In the long story now drawing to a close it is not difficult to discern a line of evolution. A confused multitude of dwarfs and elves and nymphs, that vaguely accounted for the phenomena of nature, were resolved into mysterious peoples, who were the forerunners of historical nations, and whose names were conveniently assumed by early priesthoods.

The nymphs of the prime, that danced in woods and disported in streams, were gradually defined in number, becoming pentads and triads, and clothing restricted their robeless freedom. When their maternal function had predominated their swift movement ceased, their secluded grotto was abandoned, and fully draped they were placed on thrones, three together, as the Mothers of Towns and Tribes; until, at last, an All-mother was recognised and adored.

Fig 6.

Fig 8.

Fig 9.

Fig 10.

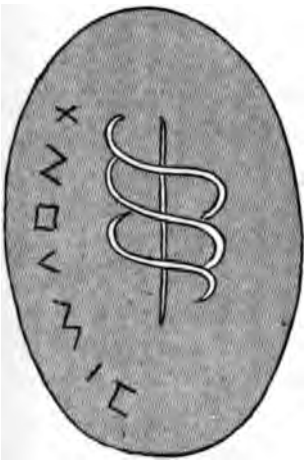


Fig 11.

Fig 12.

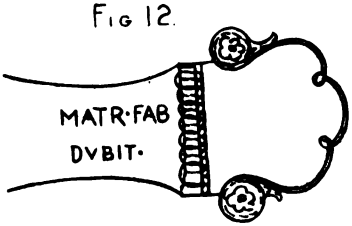
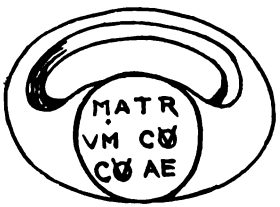


Fig 13.



But the facts we have reviewed are connected by links that are not exactly lineal, but are often reticulate, and we perceive in every direction evidence of influence and overlap. Yet, crossing and intermixture, the production of varieties and their mutual competition, are, to any true evolution, altogether necessary.

EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAMS.

Fig. 1. The three Norns of Weird's Brook.
A stone found at High Rochester, Northumberland, close to a bath, 9ft. by 7ft. 5in. and 4ft. 6in. deep. *Roman Inscriptions*, Newcastle, 1853.

Fig. 2. Three Norns or Nymphs.
Stone from Borcovicus (Housesteads).—*Catalogue, Black Gate Museum*, Newcastle, p. 76.

Fig. 3. Nymphs of the three springs at Procolitia (Carrawburgh) that fed the well of Coventina.—*Archæologia Æliana.*

Fig. 4. The goddess Coventina.—*Ibid.* The inscription enlarged is, "Deæ Coventinæ, Titus Domitius cosconianus Prefectus cohortis primæ Batavorum, libens merito."

Fig. 5. Five dancing Matronæ. A stone found at Avigliano, Upper Italy.—*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iv. 287.

Fig. 6. Three seated Matronæ. A stone in the Cologne Museum.—*Arch.*, xlvi. 176.

Fig. 7. The Deæ Matres. Stone found at Newcastle.—*Cat. Black Gate Mus.*, p. 3.

Fig. 8. Engraved jasper gem. The Chnuphis crowned with twelve rays for the months of the year. Beneath him is an altar.—King's *Gnostics*, pl. iii., fig. 2.

Fig. 9. Engraved calcedony. The Agathodæmon, Chnuphis Serpent, or Good Spirit, with seven rays for the days of the week.—*Ibid*, fig. 7.

Fig. 10. "Triple S and bar," the invariable reverse to the foregoing Chnuphis. Amulet against pleurisy.—*Ibid.*

Fig. 11. Engraved loadstone. Mummy-like figure encompassed within the coils of a huge serpent. Similar symbols have been found on leaden scrolls in the sarcophagi of a tomb in the Vigna Massina.—*Ibid*, fig. 1.

Fig. 12. Handle, 4¾in. long, of a silver patera. The vessel is 4¾in. diameter, 3½in. deep.

Fig. 13. Gold ring, weight 8 dr. 19 grs. The letters are stamped with small blunt chisels.

Found with other objects in the county of Durham, all apparently associated with the worship of the Deæ Matres.—*Arch. Jour.*, viii. 38.

THE ANCIENT LORDS OF MIDDLETON.

BY JOHN DEAN.

[Since this paper was read, on February 5th, 1897, a lately-enrolled member has taken interest in studying it, and, although I thought I had exhausted the authorities, he has discovered such a number of fresh deeds, facts, and names as to necessitate the entire recasting of the work. It has been, therefore, almost completely rewritten, and, in its altered form, whatever of value may be found in the paper is in considerable part due to the help thus afforded me by Mr. Joseph Hopwood, R.N., of Southport. I desire also to express my grateful thanks to Mr. George Esdaile, of Rusholme, and Mr. Ralph Assheton, of Downham Hall, for much valuable assistance.]

PART I.

IN Baines's *History of Lancashire*, and in other accounts, only two incidents in the early history of Middleton are mentioned. Firstly,* that in the early part of the reign of Henry III. Roger de Middleton and his son Alan gave certain lands to the monks of Stanlaw Abbey (though elsewhere† the same author gives the date 1290 to this transaction), and, secondly, it is noted that about the year 1322 the last Roger de Middleton died, and his heiress, Maud or Matilda, married John de Barton, of Rydale, North Yorkshire, and thus carried the estates to that family. But there is no attempt at any pedigree or history of these early families either in Baines or in any of the *Heralds' Visitations*, and, in a search for

* Croston's Baines, vol. ii., p. 395. † *Ibid*, p. 402.

matter to fill this vacuity, many other members of these families and their connections, dating more than a century and a half further back than Baines and others have given account of, with some of their doings in those earlier days, have been brought to light. But before proceeding to complete this deficiency, in the course of which certain erroneous statements relating to the personalties of these ancient lords will receive incidental but important correction, it may be convenient to devote a little space to the name by which they were known, and which they clearly derived from and did not confer upon their possessions.

The place-name Middleton itself may be referred to Saxon times. The termination "tun" meant a settlement within an enclosure, and was the original form of the modern word "town." As to the derivation of the prefix "Middle," there have been various opinions. Some have regarded it as descriptive of the central position that the town occupies in the midst of so many other towns with Saxon place-names.

But this derivation has been doubted by others, who suggest that the name is more likely to have been derived from the hill on which the church stands, and that its original form was "Mid-hul-tun," the "tun" adjacent to the "Mid-Hill."

This second idea of the origin of the name seems the most probable one. Many people know the hill on which the picturesque old church tower stands, overlooking the high road into Yorkshire, which passes in front of the ancient inn, "Old Boar's Head," and the original clearing may have been close by, or on the site of the old manorial hall below.

We may be sure that the "tun" would be built as near to a copious supply of water as possible, and the river Irk, which runs within two hundred yards of the hill, would

afford this necessary of life and sanitation to the people. Other requirements, such as warmth and shelter, with wood for fuel conveniently obtainable, and immunity from the flooding of their rude habitations in rainy seasons, these conditions would be most completely attained by fixing upon a site at the foot of the hill on which now stands the old church, and on that spot, we may assume, was founded the Middleton of yore.

In Watkin's *Roman Lancashire* is mentioned a supposed Roman road leading in a straight line from Manchester through Blackley, Middleton, Castleton, and Rochdale to Littleborough, and from Middleton to Castleton the present highway and the aforesaid Roman road run close together where not on identical lines. Another route between Manchester and Littleborough is suggested and traced on the map which appears in Mr. Harrison's *Archæological Survey of Lancashire*, on the authority of Whitaker, who considers this route to be sufficiently indicated by the place-names "Street Fold," "Street Bridge," and "Street Gate." But to pass through these places necessitates a great bend to the eastward, a deviation which it is quite certain would never have been approved by the roadmakers who surmounted the elevation at Affyside, adjoining the north-west of Middleton parish, rather than ease the gradient by taking a sweep round its base, without good and obvious reasons, either strategic or topographical, and none such being conceivable, while the route pointed out by Watkin is in close conformity with the usual practice of the Romans in road making, the latter may be accepted as the true route.

The position would form a convenient halting-place for Roman troops on the march from Manchester, *viâ* Castleton and Littleborough, on to Ilkley, and the still more frequent movements eastwards, in the communi-

cations maintained some three or four hundred years for the building and upkeep of the equipment of the "Great Wall," to repair the waste arising from deaths, and to give occasional changes of station to the troops by movements between the Roman capital at York and the military stronghold at Chester. Small communities of Brito-Celts would doubtless be encouraged to gather at such halting-places, under the supervision of their conquerors, for the accumulation of commissariat stores, &c., and for the services of the inhabitants in the multifarious kinds of labour incident to a military halt. Such I take to have been the inception of ancient Middleton, and the long period of the Roman occupation would afford ample time for development.

The place must, therefore, have been known in the days of the Roman Empire, probably as an outpost of Manchester, as Pilkington or Stand, near Whitefield. This conclusion enables us to credit the ancient tradition of there having been a castle close to the same spot. It would certainly have been a good position for a fortified camp, and it is stated in Baines's *Lancashire*,* speaking of the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, that, "Co-æval with the churches, a number of castles were also erected or re-edified, and it is conjectured that not fewer than twelve considerable ones arose south of the Ribble, Wall-ey, Wal-ton, Child-wall, Win-wick, Black-stone, Seph-ton, Stan-dish, and Pen-wortham, Wigan, Rochdale, Middleton, and Bury. These were probably the seats of twelve Saxon chiefs before the institution of parishes, and became, therefore, the seats of as many parochial churches."†

* Croston's edition, vol. i., p. 20.
† Footnotes in Baines; Bede, lib. ii., cap. 9.

The castles alluded to by the Venerable Bede were probably real; his testimony with regard to matters within his own observation, and not hearsay, has generally been accepted. Moreover, he was a native and resident of Northumberland.

These structures, however, could not have been the work of the Romans, or designed to sustain an attack at the hands of any strong military power. Earthwork entrenchments, under the military system of that nation, and with such opponents as would be encountered at Middleton, would have been ample. We may, therefore, prefer to view the structures to which Bede gave the name of castles as strongholds of Saxon build, placed within the stockade or outer fence, for the temporary protection of the weaklings and valuables of the community, and to enable a portion of the fighting men, who would otherwise be required for this service, to join in the operations against the enemy outside. And our rude forefathers must have had little intermission from such demands upon their resources. If we consider the alertness of our Saxon ancestors in availing themselves of the good roads so provided for them by their predecessors in conquest, we may assume that this race would speedily take possession of such a position as Middleton, and endow it with its present Saxon name, and we may well be excused if we prefer the theory of "Mid-hul-tun" being the derivation of the place-name Middleton, instead of the one which has generally been hitherto accepted. "Mid" conveys the idea of "middle," and being one syllable shorter would on that account be preferred by a people so sparing of speech as the early English. Now, what could this "hull" in those early days have been regarded as being in the middle of? I have already shown that it may have had a central position conferred

upon it by the upgrowth of surrounding towns, but this implies that such towns existed before even the hill—much less the tun—got its name. I, therefore, prefer to regard the adjective "Mid" as having been bestowed upon it owing to its standing about half way between two only. Many adjacent places before mentioned would either have no existence or would be too unimportant to figure in such a reckoning in the days when Middleton received its Saxon name. There were no roads worthy of the name before the Roman occupation only such as nature had left in forming the valleys, and there were no towns or communities of note, but such as were actually situated on or readily accessible from these roads when the Romans withdrew. We therefore conclude that the syllable "Mid," indicative of position, refers to Manchester and some other military camping place reoccupied by the Saxons, as I have supposed Middleton was, on the Roman road leading from Manchester, and passing through or near by Middleton to Castleton or Littleborough. Either of these places would satisfy the requirements of those days in the quality of precision and probably as to age also, but Castleton is perhaps the most likely.

Turning now from the "tun" to its ancient lords, I would observe that in attempting to deal with the history of any ancient family in the Salford Hundred a few words on the original Norman chief barons and their subfeudatories, and the relations existing between the two classes, may be considered appropriate.

When the conquest of England had been completed by William the Bastard, his favourites and military followers had their expectations gratified by the greater part of the land being parcelled out amongst them, while the dispossessed Saxons were dealt with in various ways,

according to their social condition. The lower classes, the working bees, were not seriously disturbed; they were required for future use; but those who were possessed of property worth appropriating were driven from their homes, to perish, or to survive to a scarcely better fate, as good or evil fortune determined, though, as we shall see further on, many of the Saxon underlords managed, by propitiating the intruders, or in other ways, to remain undisturbed in or be restored to their holdings.

The inhabitants of this district, or indeed of this portion of the kingdom, had taken no part in the battle of Hastings. The two great chiefs of Northumberland, Edwin and Morcar, after their defeat at Fulford by Harold Hardrada and Tostig, rendered little, if any, aid to Harold at Stamford Bridge, and held themselves entirely aloof from him at Senlac, although he had on a very recent occasion sacrificed the interests, and thereby incurred the deep resentment, of his brother Tostig, in order to do them justice. He had also married their sister Aldwyth in the further endeavour to conciliate them and attach them to his fortunes, but to no purpose. They never moved to help Harold, or to hinder William, until long after the latter had been crowned in London.

It would be after William's suppression of the third and last great northern rebellion; after his atrocious harrying of Northumberland, "When men bowed their necks for bread in the evil days"* (an euphemism for selling themselves into slavery); after his great march from York, *viâ* Leeds, over the hills, and probably through Middleton and Manchester, amid the snows of February, 1070, and onward to the capture of Chester; after his wasting of Cheshire and the adjoining

* Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv., p. 24.

counties of Derby and Stafford; and after his return to London on the successful accomplishment and completion of these acts of brutality, that he found himself at leisure to effect the first settlement of the lands of Lancashire. Prior to this, "The lands of Eadwine and Morkere and Waltheof and Copsige lay in regions to which William's arms had not yet reached, and to which, if he insisted on such an extreme stretch of severity (or confiscation) it might never reach."* And again, "No soldiers of William had as yet set foot in Northumberland or northern Mercia."† "The whole of northern England was simply left as it was before; the old rulers, the old proprietors, were undisturbed; not a single castle had been built to keep Northumberland and northern Mercia in check."‡ "It is not necessary to suppose that every rood of ground was actually seized, and either kept by the king or granted out to his foreign followers. There is distinct evidence that the actual occupiers of the soil, here as in other parts of England, largely retained possession. Sometimes, when a great estate was confiscated, the widow and children of the former owner obtained a grant of some small portion of their heritage. In other cases the widow or daughter of the former owner was constrained to give herself and her lands to a foreign husband. In some cases Englishmen of high rank contrived to win William's personal favour, and to keep their lands and even their offices. A crowd of smaller thegns and of well-to-do churls seem to have been left undisturbed."§

As to the question whether Middleton was one of the places whose owners were left in possession, some light

* Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv., p. 24.
† *Ibid*, vol. iv., p. 27.
‡ *Ibid*, vol. iv., p. 29.
§ *Ibid*, vol. iv., pp. 24-25.

is thrown on this subject by Mr. Harland,* who says: "Though . . . it is impossible to identify the localities or names of the twenty-one berewicks mentioned in Domesday as belonging to the hundred of Salford in the time of King Edward the Confessor, then held as Manors by as many Saxon thanes, we may enumerate various townships of a later time as not unlikely to have been of these ancient berewicks. There is reason to believe that when Roger de Poictou held the greater part of the hundred of Salford he allowed a number of the small Saxon proprietors to retain their estates by the tenure of thanage or drengage, and in the Feodary and other records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find free tenants, some bearing Saxon names, holding there land *antiquâ tenurâ*, or in thanage or in drengage. Such thanes, drenges, or small holders were seated in the townships of Barton, Clifton, Chorlton (Chorlton-cum-Hardy), Chetham, Eccles, Failsworth, Hulton, Hulme, Middleton, Moston, Notton or Newton, Pendlebury, Pendleton, Pilkington, Radcliffe (?), Salford, Trafford, Withington, and Worsley. These were possibly the sites of nineteen of the twenty-one Saxon berewicks."

Mr. Harland† also says: "Drengage . . . is the tenure by which the Drenges, or Drenches, held their lands. The (Drengi) were tenants in *capite*, who, according to Spelman, being put out of their estates at the Norman Conquest, were afterwards restored thereunto on their making it appear that they were the owners thereof, and neither in *auxilio* or *consilio* against him, in short, that they had stayed at home to till their lands, and had not fought under Harold at the battle of Hastings, or otherwise resisted the Conqueror."

* Harland's *Mamecestre*, p. 78.
† *Ibid*, p. 74.

It should be pointed out, however, that the latter part of this disclaimer could have no reference to the landed proprietors of this part of England, as has been shown by the citations from Freeman. No one knew better than William himself that these were never in his way at Hastings.

The story of the ancient Saxon lords of Middleton cannot well be told without giving a short account of the Norman grantees, or Barones Capitales, who in all cases stood between the restored or the undisturbed pre-Conquest lords and the king, and, putting aside the transient overlordship of Roger de Poictou, of which little is known, the first of these who held sway over Middleton, of whom any certain record has yet come to light, were the Montbegons.

Roger de Montbegon* occurs in an exchequer roll for Lincolnshire of the date of 31 Henry I. (1130), in which he is stated to have paid thirty marks of silver to stay some pleading before the justices itinerant in that county. Again, on the grant of the possessions of Roger de Poictou by King Stephen to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, the lands of this Roger de Montbegon in Lincolnshire (and probably in Lancashire also) are expressly excepted. The next of this family to appear is by most authorities called Adam, but Harrison gives his name as Thomas.† Both are agreed, however, as to the lady who became the wife of

* Baines, vol. v., citing Magn. Rot. Scaccar., 31 Henry I., p. 116.

† *History, Yorkshire*, p. 443:—

Thomas de Montbegonis, Lord of Hornby, Co. Lancs.		Matilda, daughter and coheir of Adam fil Sweine, de Veteri, Salhill, Co. Cumberland.			
Roger de Monte Begonis *ob. s. p.*	Mabilla, Coheir.	Galfrid de Neville.	Clemencia. Coheir.	Endo de Longvillers.	

this Montbegon. She was a Saxon lady named Maud or Mabilla, and of her family and origin we learn more particulars from the following extracts:—

"The castell, town, and landes about Brokenbridge (Pontefract) longgid afore the Conquest to one Richard Ashchenald.* Richard had Ailrick, and he had Swane, of Swane cam Adam, of whom cam two doughters, whereof one of them was married to Galfrid Nevile."

Leyland† errs in making Galfrid Neville the husband of one of the daughters of Adam Fitz Swane, as will appear from the following extract from a paper on the "Castle of Pomfret," by G. F. Clarke, F.S.A.:—

"Adam-Fitz-Sweine had two daughters, one of whom married Alex. de Crevequer, and the other married Adam de Montbegon."‡ Again, "Ailrick is a real person and a Domesday landowner, who before the Conquest held many manors. Sweine, his son, inherited, and gave a church and chapel to the monks of St. John the Evangelist. . . . Ailrick held his lands, much reduced, under the Norman grantee, as did Sweine and Adam Fitz-Sweine, who founded Bretton Priory, and died about 1158. . . . Charters by both Sweine and Adam are found in the Pomfret Chartulary."

"Ailric, living at the time of the Conquest, had a son Swain,§ whose son Adam Fitz Swain left two daughters and co-heirs (the two sons having died issueless), Maud, the wife of Adam de Montbegon, and Annabel, of whom nothing more seems to be known." (As before shown, she married Alex. de Crevequer.)

The weight of authority against the baptismal name of

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* Footnote, p. 11, Whitaker's *Hist. Craven.*

† *Vide* p. 137, *post.*

‡ *Old Yorkshire*, second series, vol. i., 1885, pp. 26-7.

§ Croston's Baines, vol. v., p. 37.

Thomas, assigned by Harrison to the husband of Maud Fitz Sweine, cannot be ignored, but a social custom noticeable among the ladies of those early days, one which is still with us, and most likely to prevail in the case of one of the two only daughters and last representatives of an ancient race, whose heritage had become the spoil of a conquering nation, and whose natural pride in her own family and desire to perpetuate some memento of it in her descendants, would almost irresistibly lead her to bestow the Christian name of her father upon her first-born son. Those considerations tell strongly in favour of the view that Adam de Montbegon was the grandson and not the son-in-law of Adam Fitz Sweine, and that Thomas was the baptismal name of the husband of Maud. In the present state of our information, however, Adam must be accepted as the husband and successor in the lordship of such share of the residue of the possessions of her family as became the portion of Maud, and the Thomas of Harrison's pedigree may have been her son.

So much uncertainty exists as to the succession of the Montbegons and the personalities of the numerous grantors of that name, who appear in the *Testa de Nevill* and other ancient records, that it would be impossible within the limits permitted to this paper to notice more than will barely suffice to render my account of them coherent and intelligible.

Adam de Montbegon appears in the *Furness Coucher Book*, part ii., p. 456, in a deed of date 1152-55. He gave to Edward de Bury four bovates of land in Tottington as a marriage portion with Alice, his daughter.* Another lady of this house, of a later

* *Testa de Nevill*, fol. 405.

period and generation, judging by what is known of her husband, and the absence of her name from the same record, Cecilia de Montbegon, lady of Hornby and of Kirkland, became the wife of William de Radcliffe, who was sheriff of Lancashire (for Theobald Walter), 1194-5, and one of the knights of the grand inquest of the county of Lancaster in 1211.

Now it is all but certain that Edward de Bury, husband of Alice de Montbegon, lived at a period so much earlier than is consistent with his being contemporary with the William de Radcliffe of these particulars, as to forbid the supposition that his wife, Cecilia, and Alice, the wife of Edward de Bury, were sisters, apart from the disparity of treatment of the two shown by the absence of any such notice of Cecilia as is given of Alice in the *Testa de Nevill*, and these circumstances, with others to follow later, demand a generation of the Montbegon family between Adam and the next of his successors who appear on record. This member of the family comes before us as the subject of the following extracts:—

"In enumerating the fees of Roger de Montbegon, who died 9 John (1207-8), it is said that Adam Buri holds one knight's fee by ancient tenure,"* &c., &c.

At the siege of Nottingham Castle by King Richard I.† "William de Wendeval and Roger de Montabum (Montbegon) with twelve others left (the castle) on the 26th March, 1194, and Nottingham Castle was surrendered to the King next day."‡

"King John, when Earl of Moreton, gave the services

* Baines, by Croston, vol. iii., p. 94.

† *Old Yorkshire*, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 21.

‡ These movements of the besieged were no doubt accelerated by the portentous appearance of a gallows which Richard had caused to be erected in front of the castle.

of William de Tatham, in Tateham and Ileby, value 18s. 8d., to Roger de Montbegon, the seizen of which, in the 17th year of his reign, he commanded to be delivered to him."

This Roger was followed by another Roger de Montbegon, presumably his son, who appears as under: "In 1202 Roger de Montbegon rendered an account of £200 for having to wife Olive, and in the same year he gave 40 marks for having seizen of his lands of which he (his father?) was disseized in 1197. He died before 1228 (in 1225, as will be shown later), on the 30th March, on which the Sheriff of Nottingham was ordered to take into the King's hands the manor of Oswaldbec, which the King had delivered to Olive, who was the wife of Roger."*

In 1215, Roger was engaged among the rebellious barons, and we learn that "In the close rolls of John all the lands and goods of the Earl of Chester and of Roger de Montbegon were taken into the king's hands 14th December, 1215." Also that these lands were given to Albert de Albini;† but before the end of the year (March 31st, 1216) he (Roger) returned to his loyalty and died 10 Henry III. (1225), when the Sheriff of Lancashire received a writ, dated Bernewell, March 3rd, to take into the king's hands all the lands which Roger de Monte Begonis, lately deceased, held in that bailiwick, excepting his wife's inheritance. This Roger, or the preceding one, gave to his brother, John Malherbe, ten carucates and six bovates of land in Croston, with their appurtenances, to be held in knight's service.‡

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* *Old Yorkshire*, 2nd series, 1885.

† Baines, by Croston, vol. v., p. 37, citing Rot. Fin., 10 Henry III., M. T.

‡ Baines, by Croston, vol. iv., p. 120, citing *Testa de Nevill*

Other gifts, both to private individuals and to religion, too numerous to be reasonably regarded as the benefactions of the same individual or to receive notice in this paper, appear under the name of Roger de Montbegon; but, as showing the respect in which this Roger held his Saxon ancestor, Adam-Fitz-Sweine, the founder of Bretton Priory, as well as on account of the names of Adam de Bury and Roger de Middleton appearing on one of these deeds as witnesses, I submit the following:—

Roger de Montbegon gave to the priory of Monk Bretton, in the county of York, the pasture of Holecombe, reserving to himself the wild beasts and pasture for his cattle within certain bounds.*

By a second charter, about 1236 (before shown as *ante* 1225), he grants all Holecombe, and by a third "totam forestam de Holecombe," thereby releasing the reservation of his first grant. By a fourth charter the same grantor conveys to the said priory three acres of meadow near Pilgrims-cross-chahe.†

That there was at least one generation between this Roger and Adam de Montbegon will appear from the following: "Roger de Monte Begonis tenet feod viii. milit in com. Lanc. infra Lymam et extra. Adam de Monte Begonis añcessor ej dedit Henr. de Rokeby ij caruc' terre in Wenig'ton ꝑ service militari unde xiiij caruc' facwt feoda unius militis."‡

Adam would not have been styled merely as ancestor if he had been the father of Roger; and that there was more than one generation between these two is rendered very probable by the marriage of Cecilia de Montbegon,

* Whitaker, *Hist. Whalley*, vol. i., p. 323. (Also Baines.)

† *Hist. Whalley*, vol. iii., p. 225, citing Register of the Priory of Monk Bretton, and placing about the beginning of Henry III.

‡ *Testa de Nevill*, fol. 405.

"lady of Hornby and of Kirkland," with William de Radcliffe, for if she had been the daughter of Adam she would have been sister to Alice, the wife of Edward de Bury, and the unlikelihood of this, owing to a disparity in the life periods of the husbands of these ladies, has already been shown. On the other hand, if she had been sister to Roger she must have appeared in a trial which took place in the 15 Henry III. (1230), in which Galfridus de Nevill* and Mabilla, his wife, are plaintiffs in a plea against Clemencia, who was the wife of Endo de Longvillars, and who was the sister and co-heir to Roger de Montebegonis, the said Mabilla being the eldest sister and co-heir of the said Roger. It would furthermore appear from this that John Malherbe had died before this Roger, but whether they were uncle and nephew, or brothers, is uncertain.

Roger was succeeded by Henry de Monegheden, for a writ directed to the Sheriff of Lancaster, dated Windelesor (Windsor),† September 25th, 10 Henry III. (1225) (Rot. Fin., M. 3), states that it appears by an inquisition made at Lincoln, before the justices itinerant, that Henry de Monegheden is kinsman and next heir to Roger de Monte Begonis in the lands which he held of the king, and which fell to Henry by inheritance. By this writ the sheriff was directed to take security for the relief of eight knights' fees in Lancashire and Lincolnshire, and in the 11 Henry III. (1226), Henry de Monegheden (or Munden) received possession of the castle of Hornby.

In the same year (1226) Henry de Munden sold to Hubert de Burgh, the chief justice (of England), Hornby Manor, with the castle and honour, Melling, with the

* Harrison, *Hist. Yorks.*, p. 443. This is the Neville whom Leland mistook for the husband of Adam de Montbegon's daughter. *Ante* p. 131-2.

† Baines, by Croston, vol. v., p. 537.

advowson of the church. Wra · Wray ·. Argum · Arkholme ·. Tunstal. Wraton. Wemington. Farlton. and Cancefield. Also in the same year he "sold or conveyed the fee of Tottington.* including the manors of Bury and Middleton, to John de Lacy, and these manors were thereupon incorporated in the honour of Clithero."

The foregoing citations sufficiently dispose of Whitaker's description of Tottington as a member of the honour of Clitheroe at the period of Roger de Montbegon's grants to Monk Bretton before referred to;† as also the statement in Baines that Tottington was held by the Lacies soon after the Conquest: and supply a correction to the assumption that Adam de Montbegon was "Mesne lord of Tottington under the Lacies,"‡ which appears a little lower down on the same page.

As to the family of the De Lacys, a brief account of this well-known race, who next held the overlordship of Middleton, will suffice. John de Lacy was the son and heir of Roger, seventh baron of Halton and constable of Chester, made heir by his grandmother Albreda de Lacy§ and took the name of De Lacy in 1194; was called "Hell" by the Welsh for his shameful cruelty to his prisoners taken in the wars against that nation, and died in 1211. John, his son, married Margaret de Quincy, countess of Lincoln in right of her mother. He was admitted to the lands of his father A.D. 1213 on paying to King John seven thousand marks;‖ purchased the fee of Tottington (as before stated) in 1226; was

* *Court Rolls of the Honour of Clithero.* W. Farrar. 1897. Introduction, p. vi.

† *Hist. Whalley*, vol. i., p. 323.

‡ Baines, by Croston, vol. iii., p. 94.

§ Ormerod's *Cheshire.*

‖ *Old Yorkshire*, 2nd series, 1885, vol. i., pp. 227-8.

created earl of Lincoln in November, 1232, and died 22nd July, 1240. Edmund de Lacy, son and heir of John, born 1230, succeeded, and dying in the lifetime of his mother, never assumed the title of earl of Lincoln. Henry de Lacy, the son and heir of Edmund, and the last of his family, which had held the overlordship of Middleton during the period of eighty-five years, succeeded, and dying in February, 1310-11, transmitted his inheritance to Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, who had married Alice, the only surviving issue of Henry, and was beheaded at Pontefract, for rebellion, 22nd March, 1321-2.

THE MIDDLETON FAMILY.

The ancient Saxon lords of Middleton, as distinguished from the Norman grantees, who have received but scant notice from previous writers, seem to have held their lands by ancient tenure, as unaltered from the time of King Edward the Confessor. This conclusion is supported by evidence afforded by the coat armour of the De Middletons. Their arms were paly of six (later, argent, three pallets vert.), which was the device on the shields of six of the old princes of Northumberland,* beginning with Ella, A.D. 547, and, allowing for differences of tincture, it was one of a pair of the most ancient coats of arms known to English heraldry. The question of these arms was thoroughly threshed out by Mr. Ralph Assheton,† of Downham, along with Mr. Cokayne, his relative, afterwards the Clarenceaux King of Arms. They examined all the drawings of this coat as borne or quartered by the

* Gregson's *Fragments*.

† Mr. Assheton's letters, 16th October, 1895. In the author's possession.

Asshetons and Grosvenors which they could find in the College of Arms and the British Museum, and found the following variations, viz.: (1) Paly of six, argent and vert.; (2) paly of six, vert. and argent; (3) paly of six, argent and azure; (4) argent, three pallets vert.; and came to the conclusion that the last (viz., argent, three pallets vert.) was the correct one, being quartered by Mr. Assheton and the Duke of Westminster. These are merely variations of the same coat, and there is nothing in them that in any way goes contrary to their all having been borne by the family, or by the several branches of it, viz., the Hopwoods, Langleys, and Ashworths, because in those early days the laws of heraldry were not so definitely fixed as in succeeding centuries.

Attention may now be directed to this significant fact. The coat armour of the Montbegons was "Paly of six, Ermine and Gules, charged with an Orle of Pellets." Here we have a Norman family emblazoning on its shield one of the oldest of Saxon devices. This incongruous combination stimulates enquiry. We know that in those days it frequently happened that the husband of a wealthy heiress adopted the arms of his wife's family, more especially when the name of that family had become or was on the point of becoming extinct, in default of male heirs, and, if Adam de Montbegon followed this practice, we conclude that the "Paly of six" was the device of Ailrick, the Saxon, and this conclusion is not without probability on other grounds: "Ermine and Gules" appear as the heraldic charge of the Norman family of Montgomery, which would indicate an earlier connection of the Montbegons with the family of Roger de Poictou (otherwise Montgomery), which is also suggested by other circumstances. Those who are familiar with the part assigned to heraldry in tracing family origin and descent

in the days before surnames had come into use, when written records were rare and the art of printing unknown, will allow that, if my preliminary conclusion as to how and when the Montbegons, of Hornby Castle, came to employ the "Paly of six" as the chief component of their heraldic badge of distinctions is well founded, we have reason for the further assumption that a blood relationship existed between the ancient lords of Pontefract and also of many other manors, inclusive of Hornby, and Salhill, co. Cumberland, and the Saxon lords of Middleton. Consanguinity, and not the more distant relationship of a mere follower or companion in arms, is here suggested advisedly, as the offence of assuming the armorial bearings of another would have ensured certain detection.

The first of the lords of Middleton of whom we have record is Alexander de Middletuna, who is incidentally mentioned in a charter of his son Roger. This deed will be found in vol. xvii., p. 442, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, but on account of its fixing the limit of antiquity of this family, and mentioning the earliest known ecclesiastic of Middleton Church, as well as because the date assigned to it by Canon Raines (viz., the middle of the reign of Henry III.) differs so widely from my own estimate, I reproduce it here:—

"Richard Holt, gentleman, Inquisition taken at Manchester, 3 Sept., 1624.—Roger, son of Alexander de Middletuna, gave messuages, lands, &c., in Ashworth, 'tota Ashwortha,' to one Geoffrey, his kinsman, shown in evidence given before the jurors on this inquisition, of the following tenor:—

"'Ratū sit et . . . vniuꝰsis has literas videntibus vel audientibus et francis et anglicis tam pꝯentibus q'm futur̃ me Rogi fil Aleẋ de Midletuna Galfrido cognato meo filio

Robti decani de Willor totam Ashwortham cū omni integritate p'tinentī subtus in silvis et Campis et aquis et cū omni integra Communitate sc'licet pessure et pasture omniū nemorū et Camporū que mihi et meis p'tinet in feodo et in hereditate dedisse et concessisse et confirmasse sicut ipse antē hereditariū sibi et suis heredibus de me heredibusq. meis tenend libe quiete et solute pro omnibus servitiis que hom pd terre p'tinet vel contingere possunt et nomatim pro omnibus servitiis Regis et omniū aliorū que mihi servitiū ex debito vel amore habere clamat et nomatim pro Sakefet quadraginta denarī annatim, quorū dimidietatem ipse p'd Galfridus vel aliquis ex p'te sua mihi Rogero vel meis ad octavas scīti [sic] Petri in estate et alteram p'tem ad festum sc̄i Mic̄lis dare convenit pro huis confirm̄e libertatis et concessi et recognicōem et Relenacōem post decessores Galfridi p'd dedit his Testibus And p̄sbro Henrico filio suo et Adā* Clico de Midleton Elia p̄sbro. Swan Clico Robto de p̄sbiriē Adam de Waltun Dolfina fre suo. Willmo de Gart Jurdan de Ashworth Martin Willmo Clico Alan Clico."†

Weighty reasons could be adduced for an earlier date for this charter than that given by Raines, but the most cogent is dependant on identification of the ecclesiastic described as "Robti, decani de Willor." This description can only apply to "Robert, Dean of Whalley," the son of Henry, who preceded him in that office, and father of Henry the younger, William, and Geoffrey, who successively followed him and each other in the deanery, the latter being the grantee and *cognato meo* of Roger the grantor. Both the principals to this deed and their

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* This Adam appears to be the earliest ecclesiastic of Middleton as yet found. See note on page 174.

† Record Society, vol. xvii., pp 442-48

fathers were natives of Lancashire; hence we are confronted with the necessity of finding an ecclesiastic who, at the time the deed was executed, was holding the office of dean of some place in Lancashire, and bore the name of Robert. Moreover, the establishment of which he was dean must own a name of which the spelling or the local pronunciation bears a closer resemblance than Whalley does to the "Willor" of the charter, bearing in mind the difficulty under which early writers laboured in forming combinations of letters to correspond with pronunciation, as shown by the various modes of spelling this place-name. We find Walleyed, Quallay, Hwall, Walaley, Whalleye, and, in the Domesday Survey, Walei. And if these two conditions can be better complied with, a third needs to be fulfilled.

The Dean Robert of such other place must have a son Geoffrey, and lastly all the foregoing must be suited with a possible contemporary, Roger, son of Alexander de Middleton, and such a close agreement with these several stipulations as is found at Whalley cannot be found elsewhere in Lancashire in the time of Henry III. or in either of the centuries that preceded or followed his reign. Further support for a much earlier date than the middle of Henry III. is to be found among the witnesses and in some expressions in the body of the charter.

As regards the witnesses. "Elia pstro" is probably identical with the "Elia clerico de Swylington" (Swithin's-ton, *i.e.*, Swinton, in the parish of Eccles) in a later charter of Robert de Walley, persone de Rachedale (son of Geoffrey the elder),* and with the "Helia," who appears as clerico de Eccles, *c.* 1180.† Here is found also a

* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 295, 296.

† Croston's Baines, vol. iii., p. 253; and footnote, p. 296.

"William, clerico de Eccles, under the same date. Again, we find a "Suanus clericus," who is the subject of a *post-mortem* reference in the confirmation of a charter relating to Eccles Church, of Edith de Barton in 1192,* and these two latter seem likely to be the "Willmo c̃lico" and the "Swan c̃lico" who are co-attestors with Elia in the Ashworth charter. The appearance of the witness Jurdan de Ashworth goes to confirm the statement of Canon Raines that before the middle of the reign of Henry III. a family named Hersewort or Assheworth were mesne lords of the manor,† and this "Jurdan" would, no doubt, be a member of that family. Of the other witnesses nothing can be stated.

But my case for an earlier date may be allowed to rest on the conclusion that the "Robti decani de Willor" denotes Robert, Dean of Whalley, and suffices as ground for a corrected date for this Ashworth charter, as also, inferentially, for the two members of the Middleton family who appear in it. It will be obvious that Alexander, the father, was not living when this charter was drawn, and as succeeding heirs do not, as a rule, begin to strip themselves of their possessions in the early days of their enjoyment of them, unless it be for good reasons shown on the deed of gift, we may assume that he had then been dead some considerable time, which would imply that his son, Roger, the grantor, was a contemporary, perhaps the junior, of Robert, the then dean of Whalley. This Robert, according to Baines‡ (who makes the slip of calling him the son of Geoffrey), Whitaker, and others, died before 1193.§ There were two elder brothers, Henry and William, standing between Geoffrey and any prospect

* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 39, 49.
† *Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii., part i., p. 103.
‡ Croston's Baines, vol. iii., p. 14.
§ *Hist. Whalley*, vol. ii., p. 412.

that he otherwise would have had of succeeding his father in the hereditary office of dean, and it would be necessary for him to obtain other means of support. This may explain his appearance as grantee in this charter, and may also have been an inducement to Roger de Lacy to grant him in free marriage (he had married Alice,* the daughter of Roger, probably much earlier than is implied in the indefinite statement "before 1211," Roger himself having died in 1211) lands in Tunleia, Coldcotes, and Snodesworth. However, we find that Henry, the elder brother, had succeeded his father, and had been himself succeeded by his next younger brother, William, who had also disappeared, and left the deanery of Whalley to Geoffrey, whom we find installed therein *c.* 1190, and in the rectory of Rochdale (also an hereditary appanage of his family) before 1193.† He was certainly living in 1217, and had been succeeded in the deanery of Whalley, as well as in the living, then changed to a vicarage, of Rochdale, by his son, Geoffrey the younger,‡ *c.* 1220.

The foregoing particulars, relating to a family whose history has received much painstaking research from several of our local historians, furnish a convenient basis for this summary. If we reckon backwards from *c.* 1190, when Geoffrey the elder is first found holding the deanery of Whalley, and allow ten years for the two preceding periods during which his senior brothers, Henry and William, filled that office, we come to 1180, or within five years of the *c.* 1175, when Robert, their father, appears as dean. Hence, on the data given and the conjoint periods assumed for the diaconate of the brothers, Henry and William, this Ashworth charter must be placed

* Croston's Baines, vol. iii., p. 20.
† *Ibid*, p. 14. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 15.

about 1175 to 1180, and we may assume that Alexander de Middleton died and was succeeded by his son Roger, the grantor, in the early part of the reign of Henry II. On this showing, Alexander may have lived in the days of Henry I. or even of William Rufus.

Before passing over the date *c.* 1175-80, just decided upon for the Ashworth charter, a few words are needed as to its effect on the chronological position of Geoffrey, the grantee, who is stated in the pedigree of the De Lacies, and also in a passage in Baines's *History*,* to have married a daughter of Roger de Lacy before 1211-12; while, in agreement with other authorities, placing his son Geoffrey, the younger, as vicar of Rochdale, *c.* 1220,† and further stating that this son died 8 Henry III. (1223-4),‡ leaving by his wife, a daughter of Gospatric de Samlesbury, a son Roger, the last dean of Whalley, who succeeded his father, and, under the circumstances, cannot be supposed to have been under age when he was made dean. He might, therefore, have been born about the year 1200, which would place the birth of his father about 1175-80, thus setting back the date of the marriage of Geoffrey, the elder, from the date 1211-12, just cited, to the period fixed upon from other data, for his receipt of the grant of Ashworth. What the exact relationship between the grantor and the grantee of this deed was we do not know, but the expression "cognato meo" indicates that they were blood relations. Moreover the Ashworths, who were mesne lords of the manor at that time, were undoubtedly an offshoot of the Middleton family, and so, in a more remote degree, were related to both.

A few words as to its effect on the antiquity of

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* Croston's Baines, vol. iii., p. 316, also p. 320.
† *Ibid*, p. 15. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 520.

"Ada, c̃lico de Midleton," who, by his attestation of this charter, is shown to be the most ancient parson of Middleton as yet known, being over one hundred years earlier than the last of the dates assigned to Peter þ'sona and to Thoma clerico* (*c.* 1290) in the latest edition of Baines; and earlier than the *c.* 1190 of Aca (or Acc),† the clerk of Manchester, or than the *c.* 1180 on which their two or three co-witnesses of this deed, Helia, and William, and probably Swan, are found established at Eccles.‡

(2) The second on the pedigree of the Middleton family is Roger de Middleton, son and heir of Alexander, who is again met with in an undated deed granting land to a member of the Trafford family, and attested by Roger de Buron, Orme de Astun, Robert de Buron, Matthew de Redish, William de Radcliffe, Roger de Middleton,§ Adam de Buri, Gilbert de Notona, William, his son, Geoffrey de Buron, Hugh de Stratford, Alexander de Pilkington, Matthew de Glothet, Hugh de Soresworth, and Robert, his brother, Robert, son of Hugh de Mascy, &c. Three of these witnesses figure in the following abridged extract:—

"Rogus de Montbeg.‖ viij milit infra Lima and ext de quiby, Adam de Buri j Rog^r de Midleton j Gilbtus de Notton quarto."

The circumstance of Gilbert de Notton,¶ who was living as late as 1220, and his son William both appearing on this deed may be serviceable in fixing its backward limit of date. Gilbert is said to have married Edith de Barton, *circa* 1190, in which case she could not have been the mother of a son of attesting age before 1212, and that

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* Croston's Baines, vol. ii., pp. 395, 402.

† *Ibid*, p. 37.

‡ *Ibid*, vol. iii., p. 253.

§ Chet. Soc., vol. xlii., p. 245.

‖ *Testa de Nevill*, fol. 408.

¶ Croston's Baines, vol. iii., p. 235

she was the mother of William is made clear by a charter in which we find the following: "Quod ego Editha Barton assensu et voluntate maiti mei d'ni Gilberti de Notton ꝑ salute animarum nostratum et ꝑ salute Johannis de Barton* (or Bromyhurst, a younger brother of William), filij mei et ꝑ salute filie mec scilicet uxoris William de Notton,†" &c., &c.

This deed may be placed about the end of the reign of King John (1216), and although we do not know how long William had then been dead, there is nothing in it incompatible with the marriage of his parents on the date cited. But we find that Gilbert, the eldest son of William, who had taken the name of Barton, and finally succeeded Gilbert de Notton, his grandfather, received a grant of land from Robert de Mitton,‡ who died before 1220. Gilbert must have passed his majority at this time, by which we may assume that his father was married before 1200, and therefore fix upon a much earlier date than 1190 for the marriage of his grandparents.

The latest possible date which can be assigned to this deed, apparently, is determined by this witness, Adam de Bury, for we find a Peter de Bury attesting a

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* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 521-2.

† This deed is a grant of Cadishead (in Barton) to the monks of Stanlawe; Edith, in thus giving away a part of her patrimony, diminishes the heritage of her descendants, and she wishes—or the grantees, for their better future security, wish her—to show on the face of the deed that she has the assent and concurrence of her husband and their children, or future heirs, in making this grant. Hence, if William, their eldest son, had been then living his name must have appeared upon it before that of his younger brother, and the name of his wife, who could have no claim apart from her husband in such a connection, would have been meaningless if not intrusive. But after the death of her husband, and acting on behalf of her sons, Gilbert and Matthew, who must both have been under age at the time, the monks of Stanlawe would consider her assent a valuable acquisition, if not actually a legal necessity.

‡ *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 680-2, No. liii.

charter of the date of 1192,* who was succeeded by Robert de Bury (the elder), and he by another Adam, who is a co-witness with him in a charter of A.D. 1205.† This Robert also appears with Gilbert and William de Notton, father and son.‡ On the foregoing particulars we may now fix the period at which this Adam de Bury first mentioned and William, the son of Gilbert de Notton, whom we have selected to fix the forward and backward limits, could meet and witness the execution of this deed at *c.* 1190.

We find this Roger de Middleton again in another deed without date which Kuerden places between 1199 and 1230: "Robert de Gredley has given to Ralph de Ancotes for homage and service all the lands of Ancotes, &c. Witnesses: Robert de Burun de Clayton; Robert, son and heir of Matthew, son of William; Roger de Middleton; Gospatric de Chorlton; Orm de Ashton, Asco clerk, and others as witnesses."§

This deed would be later than 1195, when Robert de Gresley came of age, and before 1205, when another Roger de Middleton appears (p. 150, *post*).

Another statement relating to this Roger is that: "Gospatric de Chorlton made a grant of lands in Chorlton and Beswick to the Abbey of Cockersand in the year 1148, and other deeds of which Orme de Ashton, Robert de Byron, Roger de Middleton, &c., are witnesses."||

This deed is placed about fifty years too early, for the cell of Hugh the Hermit at Cockersand was not in

* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 39-40.
† *Ibid*, pp. 56-7.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 45-6.
§ *Manchester Collectanea*, Chet. Soc., vol. lxviii., pp. 70-1.
|| *Ibid*, p. 71.

existence before 1180, nor made a priory by Pope Clement until June, 1190. It was afterwards, 1194–1199, constituted an abbey.*

And, lastly, it is obviously this Roger who is the subject of the following reference: "Rogus de Midelton tenet j caruc-terre in Chetham in capite de dno Rege in thanag p j m̃r Henr de Chetã tenez illam terre d p̃dc̃o Rogo."†

This connection of the Chethams and the Middletons has been overlooked by the compilers of the Chetham pedigree (*cf.* Croston's Baines, ii. 234).

Roger de Middleton, the second of that name, is first met with in company with the following: "Willo de Vernon tunc temporis vic, Robert de Bur, Ad. de Bur, Rogero de Midelton, Alex. de Pilkington, Ad. de Penhulbur, Ric de Hulton et Roberto Fratre Suis., Ric. de Bolton, John de Hulm, Rogero de Workedel, &c., &c.,"‡ and the date, 1205, is known from the circumstance that William de Vernon was Sheriff of Chester in that year.

He has already (p. 136, *ante*) been mentioned as one of the witnesses to a grant of Roger de Montbegon to the Priory of Monk Bretton in Yorkshire, and he appears again in one of a pair of charters of Gilbert de Notton, which have identical numbers and are obviously of nearly, if not precisely, the same date (*c.* 1220). The first of these is witnessed by "Johanni de Birchyn, Willmo Grammatico, Ricardo de Portchardyn, Willmo de Bellmonte, fratre Rogero tunc rectori hospitalis sancti Nicholai (de Pontefracto), Rogero de Pulton, Yuone de Stanlawe, et multis alijs."§

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* Chet. Soc. N.S., vol. xxxviii., Introduction, W. Farrar.
† *Testa de Nevill*, fol. 405.
‡ *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 56-7.
§ *Ibid*, No. liv., p. 683.

And the second by Joh de Birchyn, Willmo Grammatico, Willmo de Bellmonte, Rogero de Middleton, Mich. clerico de Rachedale, et Tola wapentachios de Rachedale, et multis alijs.* The witnesses, whose names are given in italics, will be found again associated in another pair of deeds, which will next come under consideration, and the period of which will largely depend on the date assigned or assignable to the two, Nos. liv. last given, bearing in mind that they were both executed in the lifetime of Gilbert de Notton, the grantee, whose son William, as we have seen (147, *ante*) attested the Trafford deed, which we have placed at *c.* 1190.

The two deeds just adverted to, which we are now to consider, are well worthy of careful scrutiny for several reasons. In the first place, Baines‡ places them (as mentioned, *ante* p. 147) on one page in the reign of Henry III., and, later, in *c.* 1290.

Next, we are dependent on the newly-ascertained date for a knowledge of the period at which two very early ecclesiastics of Middleton held office, and furthermore, because it is decisive of the place which this Roger has herein been assigned as No. 3 in the Middleton pedigree, and finally, because by inference from the actual wording, and by reading between the lines of these deeds, we are enabled to draw a picture of the manners of the times and of the relationships between neighbouring lords, and to show that there were peaceable and sensible people living in those days, who were content to settle their differences by reasonable methods.

These deeds are quitclaims, and are to be found in the

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* *Whalley Coucher Book*, No. liv., pp. 683-4.

† Croston's Baines, vol. ii., p. 395 and p. 402.

Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey, pp. 619-21, vol. ii. The text is as follows:—

"XLI. Carta Rogeri de Midelton de quietaclamatione de terra que dicitur Threpfeld.

"Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Rogerus de Midelton dimisi concessi et hac presenti carta mea quietuclamani omne ius meum et clameum quod habui in terra que dicitur Threpfeld inter Merland et Thorniton, scilicet, de Ponteleysing usq ad Archilleslach, et sicut Archilleslach ascendit versus orientem in Mussa, et sicut versus occidentem descendit in Heden, et sicut riulus de Heden descendendo vertitur in aquam de Rache unde contentio fuit inter me et Alanum de Merland, qui quondam tenuit terram de Merland, coram Justic. dñi Regis, et ꝑ Amicos Medietantes interim sopita. Omnem terram istam cum ꝑtinentijs et aisiamentes que infra supra nominatas diuisas sunt vel fieri possunt sine retenemento quietuclamani de me et heredibz meis monachis de Stanlawe sicut terram illorum proporiam ad Marland ꝑtinentem et de qua nullum clameum habeo vel habere potero, ab eisdem monachis imꝑpetuum libere et quiete et pacifice, habendam et possidendam. Ita quod nec ego heredes mei de predicta terra aliquid exegere, clamare, vel habere possimus. Hanc quietaclamationem feci domui de Stanlawe ꝑ salute anime mee et uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum in puram et ꝑ petuam elemosynam. Et ut stabilis sit et firma ista quietaclamatio sigilli mei impressione et testibz sub nominatis .illam corroboraui, Petro ꝑsona de Midelton, Ada de Bury Hugone, filio Will^{mi} de Radeclyve, Gilberto de Bernerton, Reginaldo de Pulle, Tuone de Stanlawe, Thoma de Bamford et multis aliis."

The son's quitclaim is witnessed by "Rogero de

Midelton, Rob. filio eiusdem Rogeri, Petro ꝑsona de Midelton, Thoma clerico de Midelton, Mich. clerico de Rach, Thoma de Bamford, Rob. de Hewod, Waltero de Hewod, et alijs." In all other respects it is like the father's deed.

These quitclaims, it should be observed, were preceded by a set of deeds, numbered consecutively from 1 to 6, which appear in the *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey* (pp. 590-595), and the whole of which relate to the gift and conveyance to the monks of Stanlawe of a certain plot of land called Merland, which, owing apparently to some oversight, had been transferred to its new owners burdened with a disputed boundary on the side next to Thornton, the point of contention being whether the proprietors of Merland or of Thornton were the rightful owners of the strip of land called Threpfield, which lay between their adjacent properties. Hence it will be seen that the transaction embodied in the foregoing deeds could not be considered as closed until the boundary question had been decided, and that these quitclaims of the Middletons, by which this final settlement was effected, form an essential appendant to the series; and as by fixing the period of the earlier deeds we shall be enabled to assign a reliable date for the final ones, it will be convenient at this point to bring under notice the following particulars of the six earlier deeds aforesaid, accompanied by notes relating to such of the parties mentioned in them as will serve this purpose:—

(1) A grant of lands in Merland by Alan de Merland to Roger de Lascy. Among other witnesses to this deed are Philippo de Orreby, justice Cestrie, Mich. ballins dñi de Rach., and Adam de Spotland. The date of this deed is fixed within the narrow limits of 1209-1211, as Roger de Lascy died in 1211, and Philip de Orreby did not attain to the office of justice until 1209.

(2) A regrant of the same lands to Stanlawe by Roger de Lascy. Among other witnesses to this is Mich. de Rach., as above, and its date is fixed as in or before 1211 by Roger de Lascy being a party to it.

(3) Confirmation of No. 2 by Alan de Merland, and witnessed by Rogero de Lascy, constab. Cestrie, Mich. clerico de Rach., and Ada de Spotland. Date, in or before 1211.

(4) Quitclaim of the same lands by Alan de Merland; witnessed by dño R. de Lascy, constab. Cestrie, Philippo de Orreby justiciario Cestrie; *et supra in post scripto*, inclusive of Mich. clerico de Rach., Ada de Spotland, and others. Date as in No. 1, 1209 to 1211.

(5) A concession of Adam de Bury to Stanlawe relating to lands in Merland. Attested by Alan de Merland, Thomas de Bamford, and others.

(6) Confirmation of No 5 by Thomas de Bamford. The witnesses of this last deed are not named, but the principals of both Nos. 5 and 6, Adam de Bury and Thomas de Bamford, together with Mich. de Rach., who is an attestor of each of the first four, will come before us again as witnesses of one or other of the two Middleton quitclaims, which we may now proceed to analyse.

As before mentioned, Baines gives two different dates for these deeds, a confusion which may have originated in the supposition that they were not both of the same period, but on close examination we discover a twinlike appearance about them which is very suggestive of a common birthday. The names of two of the witnesses appear on both of them; a father, a mother, and their two sons are more or less concerned in both; and the object of both is the same. The other parties interested, the monks of Stanlawe, seem to have been very careful to make all their acquisitions as secure as documentary

evidence would permit, and were awake to the desirability of securing all the interests, present and future, of the Middleton family without loss of time, which object would be best attained by one transaction, completed while all the principal parties were in agreement.

Passing by, for the present, the significance of the references to the lady in both of these quitclaims, it is obvious that, in order to prove that they were both of one date, we must show that all the parties to them were, or could have been, living when they were executed, and it is equally plain that if the contrary can be affirmed of only one of their number, these documents cannot have been coeval.

Beginning an inquiry as to this indispensable condition with the principals, we at once dismiss Stanlawe, which was a corporate body, and had neither beginning nor end within the period under our immediate review, and that Roger de Middleton, with his wife and their two sons, were all living when both of these deeds were executed is shown on the face of each of them.

And as to the witnesses, giving precedence to the father's quitclaim, the first name we come to is that of Petro ꝑsona de Midelton. He was a contemporary of both deeds, for he attested both, and will be referred to again in the later one.

The next witness, Adam de Bury, has already been noticed as party to a deed of the year 1205 (p. 149, *ante)*, and also in Nos. 5 and 6 of the earlier Merland deeds. He was evidently a personage of note, and makes many important public appearances; but for our present purpose we are only concerned to know the period of the last of these, and in the charter of Paulina de Halghton, witnessed also by Willo tunc justic Cestrie [1230], with whom—under a title of lower degree—he first came before

us, as above stated, in 1205, we probably have his last public act.

Next we have Hugone filio Willmi de Radeclyve. There is only one Hugh, son of William de Radcliff, possible, and he was living *ante* 1224, also 1229-30, and he must have died before 1245, as his wife survived him, and his three sons, who had been in litigation as to the disposal of their mother's estate, had settled their differences in 1245-6.

The next in succession is Gilbert de Berneston.* He is a fellow-witness with Yuone de Stanlawe in two other deeds besides this, certainly before 1237.

He is followed by Reginaldo de Pulle, who, in company with Yuone de Stanlawe, attests the charter of Margerie filie Ricardi filij Rogeri de Villa de Kyrkeby.†

The next is the Yuone de Stanlawe just mentioned, whose appearance in one of these deeds, and his connection with other parties to them, will be found helpful in deciding their period. He has before come to our notice as having been associated with Roger de Middleton, the grantor of this quitclaim, and Mich. clerico de Rachedale (who is a witness of the quitclaim of Alan), in the pair of deeds which are both numbered LIV., and have been before referred to (p. 150, *ante*).

And, lastly, Thomas de Bamford.‡ A Thomas de Bamford received the estate of Bamford from Sir Adam de Bury, *temp.* Henry III. He first appears, *ante* 1193, as one of the witnesses to a grant of lands formerly in the possession of Adam de Spotland (who is a witness of three of the earlier Merland deeds by Robert de Whalley), "who it is certain was dead before 1193."§

Coming now to the witnesses of the quitclaim of Alan

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* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 474-5.
† *Ibid*, pp. 828-9.
‡ Baines, vol. iii., p. 120.
§ *Hist. Whalley*, Whitaker, vol. ii., p. 412.

de Middleton, we pass by the names of his father and brother, and take the names of Petro ꝑsona, and Thoma clerico, both together, as we so happen to find them associated among the witnesses of another deed entitled, "Carta Willmi de Stapleton [son of Hugo, lord of Saddleworth, *c.* 1200] de decimas suis dandis in foresta Sadelword."* Test.: H. de Eland, Rob. de Lieuersegge, Willmo de Deusbury, Joh. fratre decani [brother of Geoffrey, the elder, dean of Whalley], Henr. clerico de Rach. [son of Geoffrey], Hug. de Stapelton, N. clerico, Math. de Glohut [probably Glodwick], Henr. de Werld [perhaps Wardle], Petro clerico, Martino, Thom clerico, Henr. Brun, &c., &c.

Of this charter it may be further observed that from a compact between Geoffrey, dean of Whalley, and Roger de Lacy [his wife's father] embodied in it, its date is fixed as between 1194, when Roger assumed the name of De Lacy, and the year 1211, in which he died. Two different personages appear under the similar designation of Petro clerico—or clericis—among the charters of the *Whalley Coucher Book*, but one of these, the younger, invariably appears in association with Cheshire affairs, while the Peter whom we identify with Middleton, is always found in this county. He makes two other attestations, besides those already named, both of which must be placed before 1193.†

Next we come to Mich. clerico de Rach., who has already appeared before us as a fellow-witness with the same Roger de Middleton, and the same Yuone de Stanlawe as on this occasion (pp. 71-2, *ante*), and will also be remembered as a witness of four of the early series of the Merland deeds, *ante* 1211.

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* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 146-7.

† *Ibid*, pp. 295-6, 76-7.

The next witness, Thoma de Bamford, has already been referred to as an attestor of the father's quitclaim.

The last two names, Rob. de Hewod and Waltero de Hewod, may be taken together. We find that "Waltero" does not appear in any possible position, if at all, on the Heywood pedigree. But a Robert de Heywood stands first of the second generation on that pedigree, and is said to have been living in the year 1337. Now if we allow an extreme limit of fifty years of legal attesting age, and suppose this Robert to have died in 1337, we should make him a possible witness as early as 1287. But we cannot make this date reconcilable with the period of Rob. de Hewod's fellow-attestors of the son's quitclaim, who are also parties to the father's deed. For if we take Roger de Middleton himself, and allow him fifty years of attesting capacity from the date of his first appearance in 1205, it would only bring him forward to 1255, leaving a gap of thirty-two years between the earliest possible attestation of Robert and the latest of Roger. A similar comparison with Thoma de Bamford, who attests both quitclaims, would widen the gap to forty-four years. But take the witness, Mich. de Rach., whose identity with the attestor of that name who appears on the first four of the Merland deeds of *ante* 1211, cannot be doubted. A fifty years' later appearance as a witness would bring him on to the year 1261, and still leave a hiatus of twenty-seven years between the latest possible of Mich. and the earliest of the Rob. de Hewod of the Heywood pedigree. In view of these disagreements with many well-ascertained life periods of other parties to these quitclaims, we may safely impeach the accuracy or completeness of the Heywood pedigree, and assume, as in the case of the Ashworths before referred to (p. 144, *ante)*, that there was a family living at Heywood considered to be of attesting

value, and known as De Heywood, some generations before the estate was granted or formally made over to Peter de Heywood by Adam de Bury, and that these Heywoods of the quitclaim were predecessors of that Peter.

Adopting this conclusion, we have to rely upon the statements before adduced as to the doings of the numerous other parties of whom we have unquestionable information. Many of these latter are eminent and notable persons, who are found closely associated in the execution of a series of deeds, all relating to the same grantees and to the same lands, and several of which deeds admit of being placed within the certain and narrow limits of the period 1209-11. When we consider that one of the attestors of four of these early deeds, who appears under the various designations of "Mich. ballins dño de Rach.," "Mich. de Rach.," "Mich. clerico de Rach.," &c., was also a witness of one of the Middleton quitclaims relating to the same lands, in company with Roger de Middleton, the grantor of the other quitclaim, and that in this latter deed Roger-himself has for an associate Yuone de Stanlawe as one of the attestors of it, and that these same three are found acting together on another occasion as parties to the execution of the pair of deeds before mentioned (pp. 71-2) of Gilbert de Notton, which may confidently be accepted as coeval, and placed before 1220. And when we remember that Adam de Bury, who was a party to Nos. 5 and 6 of the early Merland deeds, and also a witness of one of these quitclaims, disappears from view in or soon after the year 1230, and learn, as we shall hereafter, that Roger de Middleton died at about the same period, and was the only personage of that name who could have been a possible associate of Mich. de Rach. and others in these deeds, and if we also have regard to the probable action of the representatives of

Stanlawe, who, after acquiring the grants of 1209-11, would urgently desire, and endeavour to bring about, a settlement of the boundary question as early as possible, we shall have ample warrant for placing these quitclaims, which conclude the series of transactions relating to Merland, at the end of the reign of King John, and also for deciding that they were coeval deeds. This conclusion now enables us to assign the period *c.* 1216 to Petro ꝑsona and Thoma clerico de Middleton, and makes out the former to be a possible if not also a probable next successor of Ada, before mentioned (pp. 146-7, *ante*).

We may now devote a few sentences to the lady who appears in the following passage in the deed of Roger de Middleton (a corresponding passage to which appears in that of his son): "Unde contentio fuit inter me et Alanum de Merland, qui quondam tenuit terram de Merland, coram Justic. dñi Regis et ꝑ amicos medietantis interim sopita."

From this we learn that Roger de Middleton and Alan de Merland had been unable to come to an agreement about the piece of land which is dealt with by these quitclaims before Merland had been transferred to Stanlawe, as shown *ante* 1211, and we may suppose that the new owners, after coming into possession, would be less complacent towards Roger in a question of disputed ownership than his old neighbour had been, and would without delay press for this final arbitrament of the king's justices. And here we come to the origin of the name of this land in dispute between the two families. It was called "Threp-field." Now, what is the meaning of this word? In the Lancashire dialect the word "threp" means to dispute, to contradict, to disagree, to wrangle, or to contend about anything. There was no word that was, until recent years, more commonly used

among the people of Middleton and the neighbourhood than this word "threp," used in the sense given above. And it seems probable that the land gained its name through the long contention that had been going on with regard to its ownership. And we may even speculate as to the origin of this dispute. On referring to the quit-claim of Roger, the father, we find the phrase "Mee et uxoris," and in that of the son we find "Mee et patris et Matris." Why should the "uxor" and the "mater" be allowed standing room on these deeds? Can it be that the lady was a De Merland, who had brought the piece of land with an ill-defined boundary into the Middleton family as a marriage portion? The name of her eldest son Alan suggests a connection with Alan de Merland, and, if this was the case, it will account for the "threpping" on the land question coming to an end on the change of owners, and for the dispute having apparently been settled without illfeeling.

The prudential, if not also legal, necessity of putting on record the lady's concurrence, if the land undergoing transfer had been a portion of her dowry, seems to invite an affirmative answer.

The lady appears later, about A.D. 1225, as a widow in the king's gift, as will be seen from the following citation from the *Testa de Nevill*, folio 371: "Avicia que fuit uxor Roḡi de Midelton est de donac̃oe dñi Reg. & nichel tenet dño Rege."

At this period both her sons, Alan and Robert, would probably be living—Robert certainly was, and one or the other would be in possession of the manor of Middleton. Hence, the widow could only have been of interest to the king in relation to other property of her own. Moreover, her name, Avicia, is found in later female members of the Merland family.

(4) Alan, the eldest son of Roger and Avicia, was the probable successor of his father, although we have no evidence of him other than that of his connection with the quitclaims.

(5) Robert, the younger brother and witness of the quitclaim of Alan, appears to have succeeded Alan. He is again found in a deed of Hugh, the son of Hugh de Mitton,* as a co-witness with dño Ada senesc tunc temporis dñi comitis Lincoln Johanne de Lascy, Ada de Baldreston, Galfrido de Bukkel, Roberto de Midelton, Andrea de Whitword, Hugone de Whitword, Rob. de Spotland, Hugone filio Willimi venatoris, &c., &c. The title of John de Lascy fixes this deed in the period between 1232 and 1240. But we find a more significant reference to him in the *Testa de Nevill*, which, as it reads back into a preceding one, requires that both should be given to make clear the meaning of the later one, as in the original: "Adam de Bury tenz uni feod milit in Bury de feodo com Linc. & ipē de comite de Ferr. & ipē in cap' de dño Rege & ꝑtinet ad dotem comitess Lincoln."†

"Heres Robti de Midelton tenet unū feodū milit in Midelton de dc̄o feoda and ꝑtinz ad dotem comitesse."‡

The countess here referred to must have been Margaret, the second wife of John de Lacy, who was Countess of Lincoln in right of her mother, Hawise, who inherited the title from her brother, Randle de Blundeville, earl of Chester and Lincoln, on his death in 1232,§ but dying in the same year left the title to her daughter as stated.

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* *Whalley Coucher Book*, pp. 627-8.

† *Testa de Nevill*, fol. 397.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Confirmed by King Henry III. in the same year, who granted to John de Lacy and his heirs by Margaret the title of Earl of Lincoln.—(Harland's *Mamecestre*, Chet. Soc.).

The only other possible countess of Lincoln in her own right was Alice, wife of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and at the great De Lacy inquisition of 1311 Bury was held by "Henery" of Bury, and not "Adam," as in the above citation, the date of which is fixed by this identification of Margaret as the countess referred to, as later than 1232. We have seen that Robert de Middleton appeared as a witness as late as and apparently in the year 1232, and here we have a reference to his heir, who is introduced to us as a minor at some period in or later than that year.

(6) The next on the list is Henry, who is mentioned in Whitaker's *History of Whalley* (pp. 306, 323) in connection with a charter that was found at Pontefract Castle in the reign of Edward II. This was a grant of lands in Tottington, given at Hightenhull (a place between Whalley and Burnley) to John de Lacy (who has been previously mentioned as having been made Earl of Lincoln in 1232 by Henry III.) by Henry de Middleton. The dates given by Whitaker for this deed are manifestly wrong, as the above John de Lacy is the only John of his race who married a Margaret, countess of Lincoln.

We have had the predecessor of Henry de Middleton in evidence as late as 1232, and himself referred to in or later than that year as a minor; he must, however, have attained legal age at the time when the above charter was executed, which would be as soon after Henry had passed this period of life as the convenience of the earl would permit. No doubt this charter was a formal conveyance to the Earl of Lincoln of the manor of Middleton, which is appurtenant to and in Tottington, but whether it was intended to constitute a formal but belated acknowledgment of the change in the overlordship which took place in 1226, or simply as a recognition of the newly-acquired title of John de Lacy, or of both

these changes, we cannot say, but we may be pretty sure that this deed did not modify the relations previously existing between the superior and the manorial lords.

(7) Willmo de Middleton comes next.* He witnesses a deed in company with dñi W.† tunc vicario de Rachedal, Galfr. de Bukkel, and others, after 1238 and before 1260 (the latter date being ten years later than previously given), these being the corrected limit dates of the vicariate of dñi W.‡

(8) Rob. de Middleton attests a quitclaim of Mathei de Notton, son of William de Notton,§ to which his brother, Gilbert de Notton, is a party. Galfr. de Chetham and Ric. de Byron (of Swinton) also attest this deed. Gilbert de Notton (of Barton) died before 1277,‖ but the absence of any distinctive title to the name of Galfr. de Chetham indicates that this deed was executed before he became sheriff of the county in 1259, as after his shrievalty he used the prefix "dominus."

(9) Roger de Middleton very frequently occurs in the *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*. I am unable to fix the earliest date, but probably in a deed¶ attested by "Rogero de Midelton, Galfr. de Chetham, Galfr. de Bukkel, Willmo de Howard, et aliis" we have the earliest of his appearances. This deed also may be placed before 1259, for the reason before stated as to the absence of any title to the name of the second witness. He is met with again in the *Whalley Coucher Book* in dated deeds of 1276 and 1277, and also in a grant to Henry de Lacy dated 1277.[1]

(10) Alan de Middleton is one of the witnesses to a

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* *Whalley Coucher Book*, p. 673.
† William de Dumplinton.
‡ Baines, vol. iii., p. 15, and others.
§ *Ibid*, p. 918.
‖ *Ibid*, p. 46.
¶ *Whalley Coucher Book*, p. 759.
[1] *Hist. Whall.*, p. 315.

grant by Richard de Burun to Robert Grelle (seventh baron ?).* To those who have read this deed and noticed the names of the witnesses, and the endorsement, "Byron & Grelle," the caution marks appear superfluous. The deed may be relied upon as being *ante* 1282, in which year the seventh baron died, and as Roger de Middleton, the predecessor of Alan, is in evidence as late as 1277, we assign to it the period 1278–1282.

(11) Roger de Middleton, the last lord of the name of Middleton. Among the conflicting statements made in reference to this lord of the manor it is difficult to decide which to accept or to reject, and the extraordinary relations which are found to have existed between some of the chief members of his family are quite as puzzling. Roger had two sons. Robert, the eldest son, granted all his lands in Middleton (note the plural, "lands") by deed dated the 24th Edward I. (1296) to "domino meo" his father.† How does it happen that this curious gift could take place, that a son could give to his father the lord of the manor of Middleton, all his (*i.e.*, the son's) lands in the town of Middleton?

Following closely on this transaction we find the younger son, John, presented, in 1297, to the rectory of Middleton by his father. Can the father have been waiting to exercise this patronage until he was invested with the requisite authority by the deed of the eldest son of the preceding year?

Robert, the eldest son of Roger, had joined the religious fraternity of Stanlawe, and was one of the main body of that brotherhood, who removed to the new abbey of Whalley in 1296 (collate this with his grant of lands to

* Chet. Soc., *Mamcestre*, vol. i., p. 129.
† Raines's *MSS.*, vol. xiv., p. 57.

his father in the same year), and we learn, by the following excerpt,* that he died while holding the office of prior of that establishment in 1311: "Robti de Mydylton obiit in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Prior."

The above Roger was fined for the settlement of his estate in 1316, and died before 1322. In 1311 Roger holds the manor of Middleton, as shown in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Henry de Lacy, which was taken in that year.

Another authority,† who makes no mention of Middleton, but states that in the same year (1311) Roger holds one hamlet named Bolton, by homage and service, and 2s. 6d. for ward of Lancaster Castle, and the service of one half and the tenth part of a knight's fee, at the four terms, and he also held a carucate of land in Chetham, in chief of the king, in thanage, for the service of 13s. 4d., and that this land in Chetham was held from Roger by Henry de Chetham.

On the same authority,‡ we find that in the same year (1311) "Johannes de Kydale tenet de dicta duce un feod' milit in Myddleton in Salfordshire quod Robertus de Myddleton quondam tenuit."

In 1322-3 Roger de Middleton and Agnes, his wife, possessed the manor of Middleton and common of pasture in Bury.§ Agnes survived her husband, and conveyed the manor, in her widowhood, to John de Barton (Kydale) and his wife Maud, or Matilda, her eldest daughter.||

It would take up much space to fully appraise the

* Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, last ed., vol. ii, p. 404.

† *Tenent Duci Lancaster*, anno 1311; also, *Testa de Nevill*, p. 405; also, Harland's *Mamcestre*, vol. i., p. 77.

‡ *Tenent Duci Lanc.*, anno 1311.

§ Baines, vol. ii., p. 394.

|| Raines's *MSS.*, vol. xiv., pp. 57-9, 75, and 80.

relative value of these curious and conflicting statements, as also of others not calling for special mention, so I will merely say, as tersely as possible, what is to be inferred from them.

Robert, the eldest son of Roger, who executed the deed of gift to his father in 1296, removed to Whalley Abbey in the same year, and died in 1311, was heir to his mother Agnes, who was probably the daughter, but in any case the heiress, of Alan, the tenth lord. He executed the deed of 1296, renouncing his hereditary claims in order to appease the solicitude of his parents, who were apprehensive that the influence of the church upon his devotion and powers of bequest might be exercised in favour of his religion to the injury of his brother and his six sisters.

The eldest daughter was next to be provided for on her marriage, which, judging of her age by the professional positions of her two brothers, and the number of her younger sisters, must have taken place long before the date (1311) on which her husband, "John de Kydale," was stated to be tenant of a knight's fee in Myddleton in Salfordshire.

We now come to a brief review of the statements: "In 16 Edward II. (1322-3) Roger de Middleton and Agnes, his wife, possessed the manor of Middleton, and common of pasture in Bury." "Agnes survived, and conveyed the manor in her widowhood to John de Barton and his wife Matilda."

Now, by what authority could Agnes exercise this power of conveyance? Not as the widow of Roger, if he had been heir to the manor. In such a case the daughter's portion would have been entirely beyond the control of her mother. But on my theory (that Agnes was the heiress of Alan), not only would the mother be

authorised, but she would be obliged, in order to endow her son-in-law with a valid title, to execute such a deed of conveyance.* It would seem that the "hamel q'd vocat Bolton" was the patrimony of Roger, as there is no mention of that place in connection with Middleton manor, either before or after his time. He may have been a member of the Middleton family, a possibility suggested by the junction of Bolton to the western arm of Middleton, now called Great Lever, as also his holding under the De Ferrars family; but it would be unreasonable, in view of the foregoing transactions, to think that he had come into possession of the manor of Middleton by hereditary right. The exercise of the patronage of Middleton rectory, in January, 1339,† by his widow, would, on my hypothesis that she was the heiress of Alan, the tenth lord, and therefore the real owner, be quite compatible with the possession of the manor by her son-in-law. Indeed I think she would have had power to revoke, in her widowhood, every settlement her husband and sons (the latter being dead also) had made while living, in so far as they affected the Middleton estate.

The inconsistency apparent in the two statements before quoted, which assign the possession of the manor of Middleton in the year 1311 both to Roger de Middleton and his son-in-law, John de Rydale, may be fully explained by a reference to the position of the latter name on the document styled "Tenent' Duci Lancast', anno 1311,"‡

* Although Agnes would at this time be much too old to contemplate marrying again, she was still eligible to contribute to the king's exchequer, either by falling nominally into the king's gift, or by purchasing exemption therefrom. This conveyance may, therefore, have been executed as a bar to such liabilities by vesting the estate in a person of the male sex, capable of rendering the services incumbent on its possessor.

† *Lichfield Registers.*

‡ Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 338.

Pedigree of the Family of Middleton.

Paly of six ar. and vert.
Later: ar. three pallets vert.

(1) ALEXANDER DE MIDDLETON = descended from the Saxon family of Middleton.
Temp.: William Rufus, or Henry I., or Stephen.

(2) ROGER DE MIDDLETON, son of Alexander de Middleton — granted the Manor of Ashworth, "totam Ashwortham," to Geoffrey, afterwards dean of Whalley. Witnessed a deed granting land to a De Trafford in company with Orm de Ashton and other knights well known. Appears 1175 to 1180, and again in the last part of the twelfth century.

(3) ROGER DE MIDDLETON first appears about 1205, gave a quitclaim of lands to Stanlawe Abbey, *c.* 1216, along with his son Alan. = Avicia, probably of the De Merland family.

(4) ALAN DE MIDDLETON joined with his father in giving a second quitclaim at the same date to Stanlawe Abbey; *ob. s. p.*

(5) ROBERT DE MIDDLETON witnessed the two quitclaims to Stanlawe, also a deed between 1232 and 1240.

(6) HENRY DE MIDDLETON'S name is mentioned in a charter found at Pomfret Castle, in the time of Edward II., granting land to John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln; date of charter about 1240.

(7) WILLIAM DE MIDDLETON witnessed a deed before 1260

(8) ROBERT DE MIDDLETON witnessed a deed or quitclaim of Mathei de Notton before 1260.

(9) ROGER DE MIDDLETON, his name occurs in dated deeds before 1260, also in 1276 and 1277.

(10) ALAN DE MIDDLETON, witnessed a deed before or in the year 1282. =

(11) AGNES DE MIDDLETON survived her husband, gave the manor of Middleton in her widowhood to John de Barton and his wife, Maud, her daughter, presented to the rectory of Middleton in 1339. = Roger, probably a De Middleton, who "held a hamlet called Bolton," &c.; fined for settlement of the estate of Middleton in 1216; died before 1322.

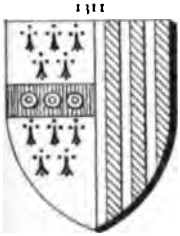
Robert, prior of Stanlaw, renounced his claims to the reversion of the manor in 1296; died in the year 1311

John, presented to the rectory of Middleton in 1297, by his father Roger.

Elinor.
Alicia.
Margaret
Margery
Johanna.

JOHN DE BARTON, of Rydale, North Riding, co. Yorks. = Maud or Matilda de Middleton

a quo
The Bartons of Middleton.



BARTON impaling MIDDLETON.

Ermine on a fess gules, three amulets, or, for Barton
Paly of six ar. and vert., for Middleton.

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in which the statements appear, and we find it standing next before this: "Henricus Dux Lanc' ten' unum feodum militis in Totington in Salfordshire." Here we have on a document dated anno 1311 a statement relating to Henry, the first duke of Lancaster, who was not created a duke until the year 1353, or forty-two years later. And again, a little further on, we are told that Roger de Middleton holds a caracute of land in Chetham in chief of the king in thanage, &c.,* and now Henry de Chetham holds all that land of the aforesaid Roger, which is evidently a replication of the entry in the *Testa de Nevill* of about a hundred years earlier date,† to which reference has before been made (p. 150, *ante*). These statements, and others of the same kind which might be adduced, only illustrate the disregard of chronological order and precision with regard to dates, which do not discredit, but only confound, the facts shown by many ancient writers, and it is to this fault that we must attribute the disagreement in the statements under review.

We may, therefore, conclude that Roger de Middleton held possession of the manor *jure uxoris* until he died, which event probably happened soon after the last fleeting glimpse we obtain of him in 1322-3. Agnes, his wife, as we have seen, survived him. She appears to have been a lady of considerable note, and it is quite clear that she was, from the death of her predecessor, Alan, irrespective of the gift of her eldest son, Robert, to his father in 1296, which could only amount to a renunciation of his own claims, until her last recorded act in the presentation of January, 1339, to the rectory of Middleton, and to the day of her death the lawful and last, in the direct male line of her

* Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 340. † *Testa de Nevill*, f. 405.

family, of the ancient Saxon owners and lords of the manor of Middleton.

The names of the six daughters of Roger, and co-heirs of their mother, Agnes, were: Maud or Matilda, Elinor, Alicia, Margaret, Margery, and Johanna.* What became of the five younger daughters we do not as yet, and may probably never, know; but Maud, the eldest, by her marriage to John de Barton, of Fryton, in Rydale, North Yorkshire, carried the Middleton estates, probably much reduced by the necessity of making provision for some, if not all, of her younger sisters, into that family.

It seems that we ought to have been able to learn more particulars concerning the public and social doings of these early lords of the manor than those before given, which would have enabled us to bring into fuller view what manner of men they were, and what part they played in the turbulent and eventful times through which we have traced them. It may be shown by many references to Freeman that those invidious distinctions of race between the Norman and the Englishman, which came in with the Conquest,† had wholly disappeared long before the period (1339) at which we have now arrived; but it is, nevertheless, quite certain that the disqualification of Saxon lineage still held good in regard to situations of high public trust or honour, and that with very few exceptions every office, place, or post, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, in this country, as in others, which would either confer distinction upon the occupant or place him in the way of earning honourable mention or notoriety by the exercise of his own talents, was still held by a man of Norman

* Pedigree in Raines's *MSS.*, vol. xxxvii., p. 198.

† *Norman Conquest*, vol. v., pp. 243, 151, and Appendix; note with pp. 825-39.

descent, or in the enjoyment of Norman influence or patronage. Hence to those whose sympathies are with the earlier branch of their Saxon and Scandinavian progenitors, and would gladly know more of them, some consolation may come from the reflection that the paucity of detail before mentioned is largely due to the honourable spirit of the men who preferred to live and die in obscurity rather than court or seek the favour of their more highly placed despoilers.

We may now introduce the first of the ancient memorials which form a part of the subject of this paper, which has also been the subject of much vain speculation, and of which nothing can be said to be positively known. In the north aisle of the church there is a very interesting remnant of antiquity in the shape of a flat sepulchral slab in an arched recess in the wall, on which is incised a rudely shaped cross. This slab is referred to in Baines's history, and the writer says that it is "said to indicate the sepulchre of a family of the name of Maud."

The slab is covered with a flattened arch of the debased kind that was in vogue in the sixteenth century, which without doubt must have been placed over it by Sir Richard Ashton when he rebuilt the nave in 1524. Now, it may be taken as certain that a monument so conspicuous as this one is must have been intended to commemorate some person or family that was well known and of great importance. At the time of Richard Ashton it was probably remembered who this person or family was, and hence the care that was taken, when the aisle was extended northwards, to place it in a recess and arch it over, so as to prevent it being trampled on and effaced.

But in all the genealogies or pedigrees, not merely of the lords of Middleton, but of any of the families in the

neighbourhood, or with whom they intermarried, there has never been a family of the surname of Maud.

For many years I was unable to imagine how a statement so ridiculous could have found its way into a professedly historical work, and it is only within the last three or four years that I have found a clue to the origin of the statement.

An important monument like this, which was so well cared for by the early lords who succeeded, must have been intended as a memorial to some person of dignity and influence. All antiquaries, whose reputation entitle them to respect, have given as the most probable explanation that the stone marks the grave of the founder. This was the opinion of Bishop Durnford, who was rector here for so many years, and who, in writing to me on the subject, says that it "probably marked the tomb of some ancient founder, who built the aisle or the church, and of course the debased arch would be placed over it later, at the rebuilding." Now, this opinion is confirmed, and a solution of the puzzle suggested, by a tradition mentioned in some notes that had been collected by an old Middletonian, many years deceased, whose papers have come to light since Dr. Durnford was consecrated bishop of Chichester in 1870. This tradition says that "The north aisle of Middleton Church was built by Maud Middleton, a lady of a Saxon family, in the early part of the fourteenth century, and she is buried under the north wall."

At this point I wish to say that two of the stones in the wall just above this recess supply us with an instance of how an interesting relic may exist for many years, before people's eyes, unnoticed, until the practised eye of some antiquary points it out. It then becomes an object of absorbing interest, and people are amazed that they

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have not noticed it before. On the face of the stone, just above the recess, there is to be seen what was evidently a matrix, in which was formerly fixed a small monumental brass. The lower part is a horizontal oblong, and the upper part seems to have been filled with an upright figure. The bottom part must have contained the inscription, and the upright portion would appear from its outline to have contained the effigy of a hooded female figure. This upright portion is about half of it on one stone, and the other half cuts across the joint on to the stone above, and this fact, when we remember that the wall was rebuilt in 1524, proves that this matrix must have been made and the brass placed in it after the rebuilding of the church. The brass may have been engraved by the orders of Sir Richard Ashton as a record of the lady's name and family; but more probably it would be the original brass made at the time of her death and refixed on the wall after its re-erection.

This lends support to the above-named tradition, and it is further confirmed by the fact that the name given to the Saxon lady who is said to have built the north side of the church is that of Maud, the eldest daughter of the last Roger de Middleton, and she is the only lady of that name on record in the archives of Middleton. She would doubtless be past middle age at the time of her father's death. It also appears that her widowed mother continued to reside at the manor house until she died about the year 1339; and Maud herself, as we shall find in a later paper, became a widow in or before the year 1330, so that for a period of some nineteen years she had dwelt in close companionship, and for the greater part of that period in the still more sympathetic bonds of a common widowhood, with her aged mother, the last sad remnant of an ancient name and ancestry, of whom no sound of

voice or footfall was ever again to be heard within the precincts of their old home at Middleton.

Is it not natural that Maud, the widow, in this, her latest, bereavement, and in the greater solitude following upon it, should desire to perpetuate the memory of her parents and of her ancestry in the manner before suggested? At all events, this supplies by far the most likely explanation of the origin and purpose of this memorial stone; and it also in some measure accounts for the origin of the error in Baines's history. The writer may have heard only a partial or garbled version of the legend, and have used the Christian name of the lady, whose parents and extinct ancestry were really intended to be commemorated, as the surname of a fictitious family. Be that as it may, an explanation is wanted, and this one fits the case. It is the only complete attempt to explain the meaning and purpose of this niche and cross that I have seen. If it be correct, Bishop Durnford was right in his opinion, and we have here the monument of Roger and Agnes de Middleton, and the brass above mentioned was the effigy of Maud, the heiress of the last of the ancient Saxon house of Middleton.

Dr. Whitaker (*Hist. Whalley*, footnote, vol. ii., p. 415) mentions a deed in which Hugone de Eland, who appears in another deed placed *circa* 1180, and Will'mo de Radeclif, who was sheriff of Lancaster in 1194, appear as witnesses to a gift of Anketillus filius *Andree capellani de Rach*. As the witness "And.," of the Ashworth charter, is accompanied by *his son*, Henry, and the deans of Whalley, who at that period held the church of Rochdale by "a kind of hereditary right," were the only ecclesiastics in these parts who are known to have openly disregarded the marriage laws of the Church, it is most probable that this "And. p'st'ro" was identical with the Andree capellani de Rach. (Rochdale), and a member or connection of the family of Geoffrey, the grantee. The "Ada c'lico de Midleton" was obviously unmarried, as might have been supposed from his connection with a parish in which the laws of the Church were more strictly observed.

[The remainder of this paper, in which another rector of Middleton will be found, not yet on the list, and which deals with eight descents of the Barton family, ending with the marriage of Sir Rafe Assheton (the celebrated Black Knight), and a description of his life and character, is held over until the next volume.]

PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 29th, 1897

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting was held in the Chetham Library, Manchester, Mr. Charles W. Sutton presiding.

The annual report was read by the Hon. Secretary.

The election for Council then took place, with the following result:—

President.

Colonel FISHWICK, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Mr. W. E. A. AXON.
Sir W. CUNLIFFE BROOKS, Bart.
Sir WILLIAM H. BAILEY.
Professor BOYD DAWKINS, M.A., F.R.S.
Mr. J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A.
Mr. C. W. SUTTON.

Of the Council.

Mr. S. ANDREW.
Mr. C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.
Mr. F. A. BROMWICH.
Mr. W. S. CHURCHILL.
Mr. ALFRED DARBYSHIRE, F.S.A.
Major FRENCH.
Mr. WILLIAM HARRISON.
Mr. NATHAN HEYWOOD.
Mr. D. F. HOWORTH.
Mr. T. CANN HUGHES, M.A.
Rev. E. F. LETTS, M.A.
Mr. Councillor FLETCHER MOSS.
Mr. A. NICHOLSON.
Mr. GEORGE PEARSON.
Dr. RENAUD.

Treasurer: Mr. THOMAS LETHERBROW.

Honorary Secretary: Mr. GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A.

Friday, February 5th, 1897.

The monthly meeting was held in the Chetham Library, Colonel Fishwick presiding.

Major French gave an account of some discoveries at Hall-i'th'-Wood, the former residence of Samuel Crompton. During some recent alterations the workmen uncovered in a room on the north side an interesting stone fireplace. It had been bricked and plastered up, and on being laid bare is found in a well-preserved condition, the stone carving over the arch being of uncommon description. In a block of stone above the fireplace are carved in relief the letters B. L. B. and the date, in quaint form, 1591. The letters are believed to be the initials of Betsy and Lawrence Brownlow. The date hitherto associated with the building has been 1648, with the initials A. A. N. on the north side, this portion having been built by Alexander Norris, whose daughter Alice married into the Starkie family. In the same room as the dated fireplace, the workman's pick has disclosed an admirable example of ancient wattle-and-daub work. In the *débris* were found two halfpennies, 1775 and 1777; also two cotton cops of a primitive kind, shaped not according to the present fashion, namely, wide in the middle and tapering to both ends, but cone-shaped, with a thick circular base tapering to a point. These cops, whether spun by Crompton on his original mule or not, are interesting relics of the early days of cotton spinning. It was hoped that this fine old hall would be preserved and carefully restored by the Bolton Corporation, and used as a small museum or art gallery.

Mr. J. Dean read a paper on "The Ancient Lords of Middleton." (See page 122.)

Mr. George C. Yates exhibited a specimen of spade

money from Central Africa; hair-curling instruments of clay, of the last century, found in the Alport excavations.

Mr. Harry Smithies exhibited a valuable and interesting collection of ancient Peruvian pottery and ornaments from Inca tombs.

Mr. John Butterworth exhibited several stone arrow-heads found in Indian grave mounds near Yazoo City, Miss., U.S.A.; also an ancient spinning or twisting frame, supposed to have been used for making thatch twine, and an ancient wooden lever.

Messrs. George Marsden and Frith Fell brought for exhibition the two cinerary urns found on Pule Hill, and a series of flint implements, consisting of arrow-heads, scrapers, flakes, &c., and a fine stone celt, all found in the same district.

Friday, March 5th, 1897.

The last winter meeting was held in the Chetham Library, Colonel Fishwick presiding.

Mr. Nathan Heywood read a paper on "The Stycas of North Humbria," which he illustrated with some interesting and valuable specimens. (See p. 81.)

Mr. W. S. Churchill read a paper on English and Continental control of coin issues, and in illustration of his paper exhibited photographs and coins bearing on the subject. Discussion took place upon the paper, Messrs. D. F. Howorth, G. Pearson, and N. Heywood taking part.

Mr. Samuel Andrew announced that a third cinerary urn and a mediæval seal had been found during last week on Pule Hill, near Diggle.

Mr. Charles Roeder contributed a paper, which was read by Mr. C. W. Sutton, upon Ordsall Hall and the

Radcliffes (included in *Transactions and Proceedings*, xiv. 200).

Mr. T. Cann Hughes, M.A., sent the following communication: The Lancaster local secretary (Mr. W. O. Roper, F.S.A.) has asked me to report the discovery, in excavating in the peat at Blea Tarn for the construction of a service reservoir for Lancaster—Blea Tarn is about three miles from here—of an ancient boat. The measurements have been very kindly taken for me by Mr. J. S. Slinger, and are as follow: Extreme length, 7 feet; extreme breadth, 3 feet 3 inches; inside breadth, 2 feet 11 inches; inside depth, 10 inches; outside depth, 1 foot 2 inches; with an overhang at the stern of 16 inches, and the cut out is 3 inches deep. I send for the inspection of the Society four photographs, which have been specially taken for this occasion by Dr. Augustus Schloesser, principal of the Storey Institute, where this interesting relic is preserved. There are five holes, about half an inch diameter, on each side, some with trenails in (not at the same distances on each side), also two holes in the bow, and two pieces of loose wood, with one trenail each, to fit on the outside of the boat. These are respectively 18 inches by 20 inches long, and 3 feet by 2¼ inches long, with trenails to fit the holes in the boatside. The cutting out of the overhang has been done with a very sharp tool. Mr. Slinger thinks that the two pieces of loose wood may have acted as washboards. The material of the boat is oak, and is in the main well preserved. The hole for a rudder is very complete, and part of the rudder is there. The keel of the boat is well defined, and its prow may have been fashioned by artificial means. The boat is all one piece of wood. While mentioning Blea Tarn it may be worth while to notice that there was recently found in the peat the skeleton and part of the clothes of a man who was missed from Lancaster

for nearly fifty years; his stud-links, pocket rule (with his name on it), parts of his boots, and portions of his clothes were found, and some coins in the remains of his pocket.

Mr. Hughes also mentioned that a boat, believed to be Celtic or British, was found in June, 1863, as some workmen were draining fields which were formerly under Giggleswick Tarn. It was five feet below the surface, and hollowed out of a great oak. Dimensions: length over all, 8 feet 2 inches; breadth, inside, 1 foot 9 inches; breadth, including two washboards, 3 feet; depth, inside, 1 foot 2 inches; depth, outside, 1 foot 5 inches. The boat is now in the Leeds Philosophical Museum. Round hole in stern; one washboard gone. (See Brayshaw's *Collectanea Giggleswickiana*, part ii., 1887, where a photograph is given.)

Mr. Harrison exhibited, on behalf of the Rector of Holcombe, drawings of (1) an inscribed stone on the front of the farmhouse, called "Great House," Musbury, Tottington. The date is apparently 1600, and the initials may represent A. Rawstorne, as owner, and Ralph Holden and A. Holden, his wife, as lessees and builders. (2) Arched stone lintel porch of the same farmhouse. The farmhouse is within the park of Musbury, enclosed in 1304-5 by Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and is in the manor of Tottington. The rector suggests that it is erected on the site of the Tottington manor house of Henry de Lacy, which may have been pulled down about 1600, and been succeeded by a good stone house, which again was pulled down or reconstructed about 1780, when the inscribed stone was put in its present position.

Wednesday, April 7th, 1897.

An evening visit was paid to the Queen's Park Art Gallery for the purpose of inspecting an interesting and

extensive collection of miniatures, ancient and modern. The visitors were received by Mr. Virgo, the curator, who kindly explained the various objects in the exhibition.

Monday, April 26th, 1897.

CLAYTON OLD HALL.

A visit was paid to Clayton Old Hall, and the members were afforded an opportunity of inspecting the building and its surroundings. The hall is situate on rising ground in a quadrangular area of about two acres, completely encompassed by a broad moat once crossed by a drawbridge, since replaced by a stone bridge of two arches. It was probably originally castellated and loop-holed, with towered courtyard, but now consists of two buildings in a line, of different periods, the older being of timber and plaster, while the later portion is of brick. The southern end is surmounted by a wooden turret containing a bell on which is the motto, "Ie attende melior" (I await better things). Down to a comparatively recent date plantations outside the moat completely environed the hall. The approach from Manchester was formerly by a narrow and winding lane, ultimately superseded by the Ashton New Road. The fold was four acres in extent, and contained three distinct piles of outbuildings. One, the Wheat Barn, was converted into a farmhouse; another, the Oat Barn, pulled down a few years since, had massive oak beams and a high-pitched roof; and the third, the Great Barn, said to have been constructed with materials from the old St. Mary's Church in Manchester, was destroyed by fire in 1852. Its woodwork was beautifully decorated, especially the oaken principals. An old domestic chapel stood within the moat until demolished early in the eighteenth century.

The Claytons, the first owners of the manor of whom there is any record (the earliest reference being in the twelfth century), were succeeded by the Byrons, of Newstead, the family from which the poet sprung. In 1620 the estate was sold to George Chetham and his brother Humphrey, and from the death of the former in 1627, the latter made the hall his chief place of residence, and there he died in 1653. After various vicissitudes, the hall a few years ago became the property of the Manchester Corporation.

The party, after making a careful inspection of the many features of special interest, assembled in one of the rooms, the chair being taken by Mr. J. Holme Nicholson. The Rev. J. White, the rector, who formerly resided in the hall, exhibited some views of it, and Mr. Edward Williams read a lengthy paper descriptive of the hall and the outbuildings, in which he traced the connection with it of Manchester's great benefactor, Humphrey Chetham, and exhibited a number of views. A vote of thanks to him was passed by acclamation, on the motion of Mr. R. Marsden, seconded by Mr. Bowden. In responding, Mr. Williams said he believed it was the intention of the Corporation to lay out the land as a recreation ground and public park. He hoped the influence of the various learned societies of Manchester would be brought to bear to prevent the destruction and removal of the hall. Mr. Albert Nicholson moved: "That this meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society is strongly of opinion that Clayton Old Hall, with its moat and bridge, should be preserved, and requests the Parks Committee of the Manchester Corporation to arrange for proper repairs and, if possible, for the use of the building as a permanent museum and picture gallery." Mr. Nicholson said there was high authority for stating that the

building was capable of being repaired and adapted to the purposes indicated. Mr. Thomas Letherbrow seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously. Alderman Grantham, a member of the Parks Committee, said he did not think there was any need to fear that the Corporation would interfere with either the moat or the building. It would be a scandal if so old and interesting a place were removed. Councillor J. N. Ogden, another member of the Parks Committee, said he was sure the expression of opinion that evening would strengthen the hands of the committee in proceeding upon the lines suggested.

Saturday, May 8th, 1897.

Nearly twenty members of the Society assembled at Street Lane End, Alderley Edge, intent on a pilgrimage to Chorley Hall and Alderley Church, led by Mr. Thomas Letherbrow.

Crossing the road to Wilmslow (made a hundred years ago by blind Jack Metcalfe, of Knaresborough) and passing Chorley Church, a pretty lane is reached called "Th' Ryleys," from an ancient house and family whose estates adjoined those of Chorley Hall. The lane is bordered by noble sycamores and stately villas. Whilst the eye rests on these the mind may recall the circumstance that the sign swinging at the door of the village inn bears the arms of De Trafford, who is lord of Bolyn and of the manor of Chorley. Six hundred years ago the lordship was held by Edmund Phiton, an ancestor of that sprightly beauty Mary Fitton, who fluttered and masqueraded about the court of Elizabeth, gave her mother "a gret delle of sorow and gryffe," was the cause of the disgrace of Pembroke, and is supposed to be the

theme of Shakespeare's impassioned verse. If she be indeed the "dark lady" of the sonnets, censure will melt into gratitude, as vapour in the sun.

The hall has the remains of a large moat, and is in two styles and portions built at right angles. The oldest has three gables, is of timber cased with stone, and has stone mullions and transoms. The stone doorway shows Gothic influence, being a pointed arch with deep mouldings, and leads to a further door of like character, partly built of that curious rock only found at the top of Alderley Edge and at Bidston, called "robin's claw," or "crow's feet." Several archways exist, which once led to the buttery, offices, and staircases. Existing timbers, going up to the roof, show that here was a large hall, and arrangements such as were usual in most mediæval buildings, in the days of Henry V. or Henry VI. The (probable) builder was William de Hondford, who married Matilda Legh, of Adlington.

The second portion of the hall is the most interesting. It is a good specimen of ancient English domestic architecture, framed of massive beams resting on a foundation of stones, gabled, richly decorated with quatrefoils and embossed finials. Not black and white, but black and warm grey, toned by age. It may be compared to an old master among modern pictures, and is a rare old gem as seen reflected in the moat. Only one room retains its wainscoting of highly-polished black oak coeval with the hall. It is divided into panels, with grotesque figures, heads of animals, scrolls, borders, arches, and columns. A curious rude carving is in a central panel, a female figure, recumbent, holding a head under her right arm, as to which opinions were divided.

Dr. Dambrill Davies gave a concise history of the hall, tracing its various changes of ownership from the

Edmund Phiton before mentioned (1280) through the De Chorleys and the De Hondfords to the end of the fifteenth century, when the Stanleys appeared and disappeared; on through the Devonports (one of whom, Thomas, built that part of the hall in 1527) to 1633; thence through the Downes family and the Hobsons to 1640, when it was acquired by Sir Thomas Stanley, in whose family it still remains. "Now thus," Chorley Hall belongs to Lord Stanley, together with the broad lands of Alderley to Chelford and Birtles, but the manor of Chorley and the lordship of Bolyn belong to De Trafford; "Gripe, Griffin, hold fast." It was also mentioned that the Lord Protector was said to have slept and breakfasted in the hall, where he met Sir George Booth, and that they held a council of war in the old Baptist Chapel, in Warford, about a mile and a half distant.

General regret was felt that a building so quaint and picturesque, so rich in historical associations, should have fallen on evil days, and be hemmed in by pigstyes, dung-heaps, and slaughter-houses. For a moment, to one of them, at least, these were swept aside; the brook hard by was diverted into a broad, clear moat; around were straight gravelled walks, clipped evergreen hedges, embowered alleys, intricate parterres, labyrinths, slopes of velvet grass, "finely shorn," as Bacon says, the whole set in level meadow-bases of deep grass, and forming a monument of the modest and homely dignity of an older time. Rejuvenating the past, dwelling for a moment on half-mythic days, heightens contrast with the present.

The road between Chorley and Alderley is a succession of perfect pictures. The great Cheshire plain is unfolded to its furthest rim, including the Flintshire range crowned by Moel Famma; Peckforton, Beeston, Overton, High Billinge, Frodsham, the Vale of Clwyd, Delamere, Den-

bigh; on either hand richly-wooded park-like scenery, with leafy, long-drawn aisles and Gothic vistas. Half-way, the fragment of an ancient cross, with its appropriate crown of thorn; the old hall with its huge moat; the fir-topped mill; the curiously gabled and dated Eagle and Child, and then the church and pretty Elizabethan schoolhouse of 1628, 1694, and 1817. Church, rectory, schoolhouse, forming one group, are ideal in their way, and are such as Dickens might have had in mind when writing the story of little Nell. They are too familiar to need description.

In the unavoidable absence of Canon Bell, the members (aided by Miss Bell) narrowly inspected the church, inside and out; the Late Perpendicular tower, with its fourteenth century door, its ancient font and immemorial yew; its outer stair leading to the Stanley podium; its nave, aisles, and chancel; its arches, pointed, Tudor, and Romanesque, with their octagonal columns and capitals; its stained windows, mouldings, monuments; its marble alto-relievo by Boehm; the full-length effigy of Lord Stanley and of his son (the postmaster-general), with its rich decorations and mosaics by Salvini; its many shields of arms, mason's marks, and new oak screen carved by a rustic Grinling Gibbons. All these afforded matter of interest and subjects of debate; for the antiquarian mind is definite and diverse, often ingenious and imaginative, quick to catch up the faintest clue and follow it into Cretan labyrinths of speculation.

After tea a paper was read, written by Mr. John Owen ("Old Mortality"), upon a sculptured stone, which is now lying in the yard of the Manchester Cathedral, possibly a relic of what Leland calls "the dikes and foundations of old Mancastle."

Saturday, May 22nd, 1897.

VISIT TO MELLOR CHURCH.

Under the leadership of Mr. W. S. Churchill a visit was made to the church at Mellor. Marple Station was the first stage of the journey, from which the way to Mellor, a distance of nearly two miles, lay through the hamlet of Marple Bridge, on the Goyt, and thence by lanes and pleasant field paths up to the commanding position occupied by the church, where the visitors were met by the Rev. T. M. Freeman, vicar of Mellor.

The solid low tower of a Late Perpendicular style is the only portion of the edifice worthy of any attention, as the remainder has been rebuilt, in a comparatively recent time, in a plain simple fashion, without adornment of any kind. Within the church, however, are two objects of great interest, namely, a very early wooden pulpit and an ancient font with grotesque ornamentation. The latter is placed at the west end of the church, near the old entrance to the tower, now made up. It measures three feet nine inches high, and has a depth of two feet two inches, with a diameter of two feet three inches. Of circular form, it is ornamented by three quaintly incised figures of strange proportions. The one in front represents a man riding on a bridled horse, and he seemingly has a helmet on his head. The Rev. J. C. Cox, in his account of it contained in his *Churches of Derbyshire*, thinks the extravagance in the figures is owing to the caprice of the artist, and that its date must be coeval with the original erection of a church in the reign of Stephen.

In the presence of such a witness of antiquity it is interesting to take note of the changes that have come

about in the manner and practice of the sacred rite attached to it. In the early history of the Christian Church it was a frequent custom for their converts of importance in rank or ability to postpone their baptism until the near approach of death. At that time the service was taken by the bishop, and only the cathedrals were provided with baptisteries. The growth of the Church soon called for a greater extension of these facilities, and baptismal churches were erected wherever required, whilst the rite was allowed to be administered by the clergy on the direction of the bishop. Gradually the widely spread need of this sacred initiation led to its being committed to the hands of all in the priestly office, and every church had then its font.

The other relic of this, in other respects, unattractive church is the early wooden pulpit that used to be kept near the sacramental enclosure, but now, since the recent reseating of the church a year or two back, has been made to take its share in the intended adornment of the interior. The effect is not happy, as the beautiful carved panels, with their appearance of great age, contrast too strongly with the ordinary plain woodwork joined up to it. Mr. Cox speaks of it as one of exceptional interest, as it is probably a unique example of an ancient pulpit cut out of a solid block of oak. It is of hexagonal shape, with one side cut out to form a narrow entrance. One of the five panels is plain and smooth, showing where it once stood against the wall, but the other four are ornamented with tracery, the style of which assigns it to about the middle of the fourteenth century. The Rev. R. R. Rawlins reported that in 1835 the old pulpit was then kept in the belfry. In fact, both the font and the pulpit had been treated as mere lumber until the incumbency of the Rev. M. Freeman, father of the present possessor of the living.

He it was who had the font set up at the west end of the church and the pulpit placed in a position of honour near the communion rails.

Contrary to the usual opinion, the earliest pulpits were of wood. They were generally movable, and kept in corners until required for use, like that still preserved at Hereford. This is probably the cause of their rarity. Pulpits, as distinct from choir desks or lecterns, were first introduced into England by the Mendicant Friars in the thirteenth century. The arrival of the disciples of St. Dominick was in 1221, and those of St. Francis a few years later. The coming of the friars is to this day spoken of as a landmark in English history. Fresh from their vow of poverty, they came to preach to the common people, who heard them gladly, with hearts stirred up to enthusiasm by the rough eloquence of these poor mendicants. The movement spread widely over the land, and such pulpits as these were hastily got ready, and could be used in any part of the church or placed outside for large assemblies. Mr. Parker declares that few of those now remaining are older than the Perpendicular style. Wallcott instances sixteenth century wooden pulpits at Sudbury, Southwold, Hereford, and Winchester, and states that the oldest one is at Fulbourne, Cambridgeshire, date 1350. Continental authorities tell of none older than the sixteenth century, but the example at Mellor is considered to be not later than 1330-40. Therefore it is the oldest in England, if not in Christendom.

On the south corner of the church, at the foot of the tower, is an interesting memorial stone of one Thomas Brierley, which Mr. Joel Wainwright thus described: I knew Tommy (or Didymus as he was generally called) very well in my early days at Strines, nearly half a century ago. He was one of nine sons of old Joab, the father,

whom I also knew. The sons' names were Joab, Jesse, George, Daniel, Abishai, Gideon, Didymus, Asahel, and Attai, and worthy men they were. Didymus was a block printer at Strines, and was a great man amongst the masonic craft; and it was alleged against him that when block printing was slack he often contrived to be sick and on the club funds. But Tommy was an honourable man, and this charge grieved him sore, and he had a stone coffin made for himself and a lid to fit the same, and on the lid he had cut "I am belied." He lay down in this coffin and had it accurately cut that it would fit his shoulders and body exactly, and he had it placed in the churchyard and exposed during his lifetime. So many people came to see this stone, and there was such rowdyism, that the vicar ordered it to be buried. Then Tommy, thinking to puzzle the parson and the people, had a memorial stone on which were cut certain hieroglyphics, which the parson said meant the same as the offensive English words, but as they were in Hebrew characters they would do no harm and cause no scandal. Of course, this was nonsense. The translation is:—

THOMAS BRIERLEY,
made his ingress
July 16, 1785.
His progress was —— years, and his egress ——

Then comes the figure of a coffin with "Holiness to the Lord." Of course, as this was made during his lifetime he could not state how long he lived nor when he died. He died in 1854. After his death there were no successors to take sufficient interest in him to fill in the blanks.

Saturday, May 29th, 1897.

SPEKE HALL.*

The following account of this visit is furnished by Mr. Letherbrow (Treasurer):—

Though King and Corporation no longer unite in gathering the May, as in the days of bluff King Hal, the season has lost none of its charm. Of this opinion was a large party of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, as they drove through light showers and brilliant sunshine to Speke Hall. Of all atmospheric conditions for seeing and enjoying, those of mingled shower and sunshine are the most favourable. Earth and sky are illuminated by the repercussion of light and colour. Cloud architecture, dome, cupola, curtain, are piled and hung over the horizon. Every moment they turn into something new and strange; while the nimbus, touched into an arc of splendour, trails its skirts across the land and sets free a thousand delicate odours. Who could believe that stinking Widnes, fuliginous Runcorn and St. Helens, or the vile stews of Liverpool were so near this ancient haunt of peace? Long may it so remain, and thanks to those who have preserved it inviolate!

The painter who wants a typical specimen of the stately homes of England cannot do better than come here. Approaching, the five parti-coloured gables of the hall are seen embowered in a dark grove of trees. Flowering plants are round about, a feast of colour. May, pink and white, lilacs of every shade; the laburnums dropping well; rhododendrons running up the gamut

* Speke Hall was previously visited by the Society on June 30th, 1888. (See *Transactions*, vi. 207). Mr. Henry Taylor, in his *Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*, gives a bird's-eye view and two ground plans of the hall.

from purple to pure scarlet; azaleas of every tint from bronze to dazzling sunlight. By way of contrast, the dark foliage of cedar, yew, fir, and copper beech. And all these are marvellously enhanced by broad, flat spaces of greensward, in the first, tender, tints of spring. Behind the hall and its belt of woods, like a flash of silvery light, is the estuary of the Mersey, miles in width. Beyond that, again, a line of dark, rich landscape, and again beyond, a mountain-land, dim yet distinct, the wave-like outer wall of the land of Merlin and Taliesin. Round the hall are sweeps of foliage and glimpses of glen and glade.

The moat is a delightful feature, laid with smooth turf, like a bowling green; the sides cut into terraced steps, and crowned by broad yew hedges. These form a favourite promenade for a lordly peacock, whose splendid neck and brilliant plumage make a fort-point of colour outvying the flowers. This crested heraldic figure is quite in keeping with the place. The brain of this Indian Nabob in feathers has furnished a tid-bit for a Roman emperor, and, garnished in his own plumes, has been the glory of many a banquet in the hall. If, instead of his eldritch scream, he had had the voice of the nightingale, he would have been worthy of being the bird of Jove, instead of Juno.

An inscription over the hall door records that "this building, twenty-five yards long, was wholly built by Edward N., Esq., Anno. 1598." It is a beautiful example of Elizabethan work. Saxon thane and Norman knight, Uctred, and Roger de Poictou dwelt here before the Norreys family acquired the estate, but no trace remains of the hall of 1350. One feels, however, that it cannot have been of as pure and noble a type as this. A couple of grand yew trees, male and female, much older than the hall, stand in the centre of the two-storied quadrangle, a

delightful combination of the work of nature and the art of man. And one thinks kindly and gratefully of the man who saw in the sapling yew the perfect tree, and laid the lines of his house with careful prevision of its future growth.

It is not possible in a few, or indeed in any, words to give an idea of the contents of the score or two of rooms; of the staircases, galleries, and corridors which passed under brief review, and which were filled with precious heir-looms. To put down the wealth of antique furniture, in chairs, tables, mirrors, and so forth, would read like an auctioneer's catalogue. Here was a richly designed and very curious bed; there a fine four-poster carved with St. Raymond. Here, again, was a huge oaken mantelpiece, with an array of sunk panels on which whole families were figured, names inscribed, and histories embalmed. Quaint, rich cabinets were there which might have been carved by Antony of Trent; and oaken chests, such as that in which Genevra found a grave; she, who, in her bridal dress, and with her finger on her lips, was painted by Zampiere. Among many chambers was the dim ghost room, with its shrivelled and mouldering tapestry. It is haunted by a nameless lady looking for her baby, which was flung from a window, and drowned in the moat.

But the great hall is the heart of the treasure-house. It occupies the whole height and width of the building, has two oriel windows, and two great fireplaces, whose huge tongs and pokers might have been welded by Vulcan himself for the Cyclops. Trophies of arms are on the walls, the flotsam and jetsam of warlike times, helm, hauberk, buckler; lansquenet swords, with massive cross guards, and huge two-handed engines, which would require a Wallace wight or Bruce the bold to wield them. Some of the carvings are said to have been brought

hither from Holyrood by Sir Edward Norris, who fought at Flodden in 1513 under General Stanley. Sir Edward was probably the builder of the preceding hall. In 1780 the estate was purchased by Mr. Richard Watt, of Liverpool, and it was by the kind and much-appreciated permission of Miss Ada Watt that the members were enabled to see the hall. It is, as old Izaak Walton says, "a place too good to be looked at but only in holiday time."

The drive to Hale is through a pleasant red sandstone country, rich in agriculture. Kingsley speaks of the red sandstone as one of God's most precious gifts, the red marls producing the finest timber, roots, grasses, fruits, and flowers, making a country worth living in and worth dying for. It was from Runcorn, over the river, that the Romans brought the walls of Chester, and from the same quarries the cathedral was built. Hale is a pretty village whose cottage walls will presently be gay with roses and vines. It is said to have possessed a Royal charter, of King John, when Liverpool was a fishing village. In its chapel (rebuilt in 1758) members of the Ireland family have been buried since 1088. The tower of the church is of remote antiquity, and, combined with the lychgate, is a picturesque object. Hard by is the grave of John Middleton, the Childe of Hale, "borne 1578, dyede 1623." His height was nine feet three inches; his hand seventeen inches long. In 1617 Mr. Gilbert Ireland carried him up to the Court of James I., with whose wrestler he wrestled. At Brazenose College, Oxford, his portrait may be seen; and his mighty effigy, clad in doublet and hose, is over the door of the village inn, where the members of the Society had tea. Afterwards the President (Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.) took the chair, and

Mr. C. W. Cox, of the Historic Society of Lancashire

and Cheshire, gave a luminous address on Speke Hall, which he considered a fine type of the quadrangular building, whose origin he traced into mythic times, to the deeply-buried cities of Homeric Ilium, Mykenæ, and Tiryns, through Romano-Greek houses with central courts, such as are seen at Pompeii, on to its introduction to this country, as typified in the Tudor houses of the days of Henry VIII., and in the admirably preserved specimen of the black-and-white timber mansion of Speke Hall.

Monday, May 31st, 1897.

Hartshead and the neighbourhood were visited, under the leadership of Mr. Samuel Andrew. At Althill the remains of the house, with its Elizabethan or Jacobean gables, once the habitation of the Leeses, and afterwards of the Pickfords, were inspected. The latter succeeded the former by marriage during the seventeenth century, and evidently renewed the mansion in the reign of Queen Anne. The well-known country justice, Joseph Pickford, afterwards Sir Joseph Radcliffe, having assumed his mother's surname, was born here in 1744. He obtained a baronetcy "for the prompt and judicious exertions as an intrepid magistrate during a period of insubordination, danger, and alarm in the year 1812." This will bring to mind that eventful disturbance known as "Middleton Fight" in Lancashire, and the more general discontent known as the "Luddite Riots" in Yorkshire. This is the "Mr. Pickford, of Royton Hall," mentioned by Samuel Bamford in his *Early Days*. He is also supposed to have formed the ideal for one of the characters in the Brontë novels. Leaving the historic for the prehistoric, the party visited the tythe stone,

commonly called tythen stone. James Butterworth, in his *History of Ashton-under-Lyne*, says, "It is worthy of remark that a stone is erected by the wayside betwixt Althill and a place called Twarl Hill, where for many centuries past the tenantry of this district assembled to pay tithe. An ancient remain relating to this strange custom, with a curiously graduated staff belonging thereto, are said to be in the possession of the Misses Ainsworth, who, though repeatedly applied to, have uniformly refused to suffer them to be inspected." In the absence of this "ancient remain" and this "graduated staff," judging by comparative custom, Twarl Hill was probably the centre of a prehistoric system of constableship. In other parts of England there were "tithings," which were supposed to be groups of not fewer than ten freeholders who gave what was called "Frank pledge," making themselves responsible from year to year for the good behaviour of their neighbours. Our old constable system began in this way. In some places the freeholders met in the open air, and had power to levy and collect certain rates. This power or authority was formally handed over to the incoming constable by his predecessor by delivering a staff, sometimes with the previous constables' names cut thereon. Possibly this was the use in this case of the "curiously graduated staff" mentioned by Butterworth. Certain it is that constables' staves were formerly in use in this district as the outward and visible sign of constableship, and as an emblem of the temporal power thus embodied. Certain it is also that whatever function was performed here it was an open-air ceremony, and from recent light thrown on this subject open-air courts in Britain were a very significant factor among prehistoric institutions and very important relics of primitive times. View of "frank pledge" was one of the privileges of the

manor court at Ashton-under-Lyne; in other words, the inspection of this system of constableship was vested in the lord of the manor and his court. Open-air courts were held in other places in Lancashire, as for instance at Wyersdale, near Preston, at which place was what is called a "constable hillock," and where a similar ceremony to the one already described took place at certain stated periods, and where a stick or staff was the visible sign of office. At Wyersdale the constables were appointed and power was vested in certain persons to levy and collect rates from the surrounding townships.

It is said these places were anciently known as Parle Hills. This place was called Twarl Hill. What its meaning is can only be surmised, but at Ovington fair, according to an old warning, "if any mon" should "commit a parliament as a twarliament," he was subject to certain pains and penalties. Here we have the words parl and twarl brought into juxtaposition, whatever each word might mean. Probably the origin of the word tythen may be found in the Welsh tydden, pronounced tythen. If so, this stone is not a place to pay tithes, ample accommodation for this being provided by a tithe barn built at Luzley, but a tydden or tythen stone. A Welsh tydden meant a household in its broad sense, that is a clan or tribe descended from a common ancestor, and was the unit for paying the food rents. A relic of food rents lingered in Ashton-under-Lyne up to historic times. The "presents at yole" were probably their survivors. If so, what strange light is thrown on this old tythen stone, especially when it is known that marriage fees for females and heriots, once common here, are from the same origin as the Welsh tyddens, and therefore probably British. This common ancestor theory would agree with the meaning of the name of the district

or division in which the tythen stone is found, namely, Knott Lanes—"Knott" signifying, according to the highest authority, blood relationship. If this theory be correct the tythen stone at Twarl Hill is one of the most remarkable prehistoric remains in Lancashire, or, indeed, in the north of England.

From Twarl Hill the road was followed to Hartshead Pike, where a meeting was held, presided over by Mr. Thomas Letherbrow.

Mr. Samuel Andrew read a paper entitled "Three Great Cities, Four Great Conquests, Relics of Village Communities at Luzley and Lees." Copies of a local map containing much interesting information, and of a plan of an ancient estate at Leesfield, were distributed among the members. Mr. Andrew explained that the three great cities sometimes observable from Hartshead referred to in the title were Chester, Liverpool, and Manchester, which formed important landmarks as boundaries of territory, or as arteries of trading operations. The four great conquests were the Aryan, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman. The first he described as a metallic conquest of bronze and iron over stone and flint. Evidence of the second conquest could be found in several well-known Roman roads that could be seen from Hartshead, and in the finding of Roman coins in various parts not far from that place. The Saxon Conquest was not achieved in the district until the seventh century, when the open fields were probably partitioned out and enclosed in ring fences. After the Norman Conquest, one of the successors of Roger de Poictou created rent charges on several estates within sight of Hartshead, one estate to this day being known as "John of Jerusalem Land." This was probably Randle Blundeville, the crusader who granted the charter to Salford.

After the Pike, built in 1863, had been inspected, Mr. J. B. Robinson conducted the party over the Roman road which runs past Luzley, and the members made their homeward journey from Stalybridge.

Wednesday, June 30th, 1897.

A meeting was held at Ordsal Hall, when Mr. Alfred Darbyshire, F.R.I.B.A., explained the work of restoration which is now being carried out under his direction at the cost of Earl Egerton of Tatton. It is intended to erect on the north side of the quadrangle a new church, a district for which is about to be formed out of the existing parish. The church will be constructed largely of the old oak from the farm buildings (now pulled down) which is lying on the ground at the back of the hall, and which is said by Hollingworth to have come (like similar oak at Clayton) originally from the old church of St. Mary's at Manchester. The old withdrawing-room and other rooms to the north of the great hall are intended to be converted into a rectory, and the hall itself will be used for mission purposes.

The existing building is of various periods, the oldest portions dating from the fourteenth century. Much of the interior has been covered with plaster which has now been removed, revealing the original beauties of the edifice, many of which have fortunately been thus kept in better preservation than they would otherwise have been. In the great hall the fine carved oak beams of the ceiling have been laid bare, and by the removal of a brick wall, built up at later times at the north end of the hall, the oak beams of the original wall have been revealed. At the sides are visible the lines of the canopy.

The old withdrawing-room had been in former times converted into several chambers, and other rooms had been added in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An interesting feature was a chimney piece of the time of Henry VII., with the union of York and Lancaster signified by the two roses in juxtaposition. There are also several examples of the linen pattern ornament then in vogue. By the removal of a ceiling the roof of the oratory, five hundred years old, has been laid bare, and the hiding-place used so often by priests and others in the Stuart days can be examined.

Mr. Darbyshire illustrated his description by producing a number of plans showing the hall as it was immediately before the restoration was begun. He also showed a number of shields of arms of the Trafford, Booth, Beron or Byron, Brereton, and Molyneux families, taken down during the restoration and intended to be replaced. He also pointed out that the frieze inside the large bay window is of exactly the same design as one on an old oak screen found in the Manchester Cathedral, of which a drawing was exhibited.

The members present expressed their pleasure that the restoration was being so carefully carried out, and passed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Darbyshire for his kindness in explaining what was being done. In replying, he said he hoped at some time before long to have the opportunity of showing the hall in its completed state.

Saturday, July 10th, 1897.

Some forty members visited Lancaster, and were met at the church by Messrs. W. O. Roper, T. Cann Hughes, Alexander Satterthwaite, and others.

When the members were seated in the chancel, Mr.

Roper made some interesting remarks on the history of the parish church and its connection with George Fox.

The party then went by carriages up the Lune Valley, visiting Halton Church (with its fine crosses), Hornby Castle, Thurland Castle, and Melling and Tunstall churches; all being ably described by Mr. Roper and the Rev. W. B. Grenside, vicar of Melling. The return journey was taken to Lancaster, where tea was served at the King's Arms Hotel.

After tea the Town Clerk (Mr. T. Cann Hughes) received the party at the Town Hall, in the name of the Mayor, and exhibited and described the corporate insignia and a very fine series of charters. The earliest was granted by John, earl of Moreton, in 1182, and was confirmed in 1199 when he became king.

Wednesday, July 14th, 1897.

The members visited Robin Hood's Picking Rods on Ludworth Common, under the leadership of Mr. Joel Wainwright. From Marple they were first driven to Finchwood, the residence of Mr. Wainwright, where tea was provided, and afterwards to Ludworth Moor, over which they walked to their destination, a distance of about one mile. When all were assembled round the stones,

Mr. Wainwright gave a short description of them. He said the base stone is eighteen inches high above the ground, is slightly oval in plan, is about eight feet long and three feet wide. The highest pillar is three feet ten inches high above the base stone. The remains of the other pillar are now only two feet seven inches high, the top having been broken off, but fortunately has been preserved by being built into a wall close by. Originally

this pillar was four feet ten inches high, and much thicker than the other. The letter N is well cut on top of each pillar, but Mr. George Milner and other members considered it had been cut at a recent date. The leader pointed out the carving of a grotesque head, but the general opinion of the members was that some ignorant fellow had been perpetrating a joke for which he deserved horsewhipping.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman said that at a recent visit to these ancient relics he found some country bumpkins shying stones at them, the impressions of which could be distinctly seen. He remonstrated with them, and told them they were not aware of the damage they were doing.

Mr. G. C. Yates said the stones were very similar to the Bow Stones at Disley and those at Adlington Hall. Sir John Lubbock in his *Origin of Civilisation*, gives a drawing of similar stones in the Fiji Islands. In Ireland in the fifth century similar stones were worshipped. The stones appear to belong to a well-known class of symbolic figures, widely distributed over the globe. In their most characteristic form, the terminal portion is marked by a fillet or girdle. The filleted stone is met with in North and Central America, in India, and in Norway. The symbol is a very early presentment of the idea of life or fecundity. It is recognised in representations of Osiris, in Hermaic statues, in the phallus borne by Grecian matrons, and as an ultimate survival in the English maypole. In India, under the name of Lingam and often associated with its correlative the Yoni, it has been venerated as the emblem of fertility for long ages, and in some temples it still receives the garlands of adoring women. Mr. I. W. Boulton, in describing the Bow Stones to the members some years ago, said: When I first saw them (over fifty years ago) I was very much

struck by their antiquated appearance, and as there can be no doubt of their great antiquity, I feel surprised in recent years, when conversing with educated men and others who have a liking for antiquities, that they seemed to know nothing of them. I noticed the peculiar carving of the top end of the round pillar towards the east. At this time the carving, wreath of fillet, was more distinct than it is now, and it was evident that it had been done by a clever workman. It is suggestive at a glance to a man of mature years. It is still very perceptibly suggestive; and if we are to believe that the carving was originally there when the stones were first erected, I think we may reasonably allow that they were put there as an object of worship before the days of Christ.

Mr. Robert Peel suggested that the Society should try to get permission to have the stone taken out of the wall and replaced in its original position, as it could be done at a slight expense.

The members returned to Finchwood, where a short business meeting was held, Mr. William Harrison being voted to the chair. Mr. George Milner proposed, and Mr. Tallent-Bateman seconded, a vote of thanks to the leader, and to the ladies of Finchwood and to Mr. Percy Woodhouse, who had ably supported the leader in his hospitality.

Monday, August 2nd, 1897.

The members visited Settle. On their arrival they were met by the Rev. Addison Crofton, vicar of Giggleswick, and Mr. Thomas Brayshaw, and these gentlemen acted as leaders. After lunch the members assembled in the vicar's grounds at Linton Court, and first examined his private museum, which contains many interesting

specimens found in the Victoria Cave and the district of Settle; they then visited the cave itself. The road to it is by a steep mountain path, which is in many places very trying to ladies, and must be traversed with great care. On arriving at Attermire, a rest of fifteen minutes was given to admire the great amphitheatre of limestone rocks, wild, grand, and rugged in the extreme, perforated with many large caves which have been inhabited, and the now drained Attermire Tarn. A short distance from here is the celebrated Victoria Cave, situated at a height of one thousand four hundred and fifty feet above the sea-level.

The Victoria Cave, so called from its discovery on the coronation day of our Queen, stands about half-way up a cliff about two hundred feet high. It consists of a series of large chambers and passages, which are now nearly filled to the roof with *débris*, and robbed of the massive stalactites with which they were once adorned. It furnished to its enterprising discoverer, Mr. Jackson, from time to time, a remarkable series of ornaments, and implements of bronze, iron, and bone, along with pottery and broken remains of animals, which have excited considerable attention, and have been figured and described by Mr. Roach Smith, Professor Boyd Dawkins, and others. Fragments of Samian ware and other Roman pottery, coins of Trajan, Constantine, and Constantius, proved that the stratum in which they were found was accumulated after the Roman invasion. There were also bronze fibulæ, iron spear-heads, nails, and daggers, bone spoons, spindle-whorls, amber and glass beads, as well as bronze needles, pins, finger-rings, armlets, bracelets, buckles, and studs. The broken bones belong to the red deer, roebuck, pig, horse, Celtic short-horn, sheep or goat, badger, fox, and dog. The whole collection was

just of that sort which is very generally found in the neighbourhood of Roman villas and towns, such as Uriconium, which have been sacked, and was doubtless formed while the cave was a place of habitation. As all these things were obtained from the surface, and as the mass of *débris*, that extended to an unknown depth, was undisturbed, it was resolved to subject the cave to a thorough examination.

The Romano-Celtic layer ground was broken on a small plateau, outside the entrance, which occupied the point where daylight could be seen through chinks in the rocks from the inside of one of the large chambers, and which could not fail to have been chosen by the inhabitants for kindling their fires and cooking their food. On the surface there was a talus, two feet thick, of angular fragments broken away from the cliff above by the action of frost. It rested on a dark layer, composed of fragments of bone more or less burnt, burnt stones which had formed the fireplaces, many fragments of pottery, and coins of Trajan and Tetricus. Fires had been kindled on the spot, and the broken bones of the animals strewn about were the relics of the feasts. A new entrance into the cave was gradually opened up; and as the work progressed, the talus died away, and the black layer below rose to the surface, and was continuous with that from which Mr. Jackson had obtained his ornaments and implements. It covered the floor, passing over its inequalities, and lying underneath enormous masses of rock which had subsequently fallen from the roof. Besides spindle-whorls, beads, and curious non-descript articles of bone, it yielded bronze fibulæ of undoubtedly Roman workmanship, a portion of the ivory hilt of a Roman sword, and spiral armlets made of bronze and gilded, which possibly may not be Roman.

Some of the ornaments certainly present a style of art which is not Roman, and which is by no means of a contemptible order. One curious circular brooch was composed of two plates of bronze soldered together, the front being very thin, and bearing flamboyant and spiral patterns of admirable design and execution. The bones were numerous, and afford fair testimony as to the food of the occupiers of the cave. On examination of the strata underneath this Romano-Celtic layer, curious traces of the cave having been occupied by man long before the advent of the Romans was discovered. There were found flint flakes, a stone celt, a bone harpoon, broken jaws, and bones of the brown bear, red deer, horse, and *bos longifrons*, as well as charcoal, a bone bead, and other nondescript articles. The Victoria Cave was evidently inhabited first by a barbarous Neolithic family, and lastly, after a considerable interval, by Roman provincials, or possibly their descendants of Strathclyde, fleeing from the arms of an invader, and would not have been chosen as the habitation of men except under due pressure of necessity. It affords a touching picture of the social condition of Ribblesdale from the fourth or fifth centuries, possibly as late as the eighth. Several other caves in the district are known to contain Romano-Celtic remains of a similar character as those from the Victoria Cave. After leaving the cave some of the members visited Scaleber Force, situated at the head of a gorge. There are two falls of water, forming during a flood a continuous cascade of between forty and fifty feet. After tea at the Ashfield Hotel, the members proceeded to Giggleswick Grammar School to inspect the different treasures discovered in the Victoria Cave. They consisted of pottery, whetstones, bronze and silver coins of the Roman occupation, bronze brooches, pins,

bracelets and rings of Roman-Celtic age, worked bones and ivory (forming pins), discs of stone and pottery, bones of the cave bear, brown bear, bison, stag, and reindeer.

Leaving the museum the members passed Ivy Fold (mentioned by Mrs. Banks in her novel, *Wooers and Winners*), and arrived at Giggleswick Church. All the chief points of interest were pointed out by Mr. Brayshaw and the vicar. The church was founded early in the twelfth century, and was granted by Henry de Pudsay to the Priory of Finchale, and William de Percy granted the advowson of the church to the same priory about 1227. The edifice was rebuilt in the reign of Henry VII. or Henry VIII., and now consists of a nave of four bays, with clerestory, chancel, with east window of six lights, north and south aisles to both nave and chancel, square west tower, and south porch. It is dedicated to Saint Alkelda. November 5th is St. Alkelda's Day. The registers of the church begin in 1558 and go on to 1627. There is then an interval to the end of March, 1653, for which period the registers are lost. In the interior of the church is a finely carved pulpit dated 1680, the panels being carved with the names and badges of the twelve tribes of Israel; also the "Pore Box, A.D. 1684," the Royal Coat of Arms, 1716, the brass candelabra, 1718; R. Frankland's monument, 1698; also the Paley and Lister vaults, and the peculiar epitaph on Christopher Dawson, 1695. Amongst the plate of the church are three old chalices. Two of them bear the inscription, "Giggleswick Communion Cup, 1731," but one of these has the hall-mark for 1652. The third chalice has the following inscription: "The Communion Cupp. belonginge to the parishe of Iyggelswicke made in Ano. 1585." The church was restored in 1892 at a cost of £3,500.

Saturday, August 21st, 1897.

BEESTON AND PECKFORTON CASTLES.

A visit was made to the castles of Beeston and Peckforton. Some of the members walked and some drove up the winding lanes by the model cottages and farms of Lord Tollemache, through the stately castellated entrance to the splendid modern mansion called Peckforton Castle. With consummate good taste the steep hill on which the castle is built has been left in its primeval wildness. The gnarled weather-beaten oaks and birches grow out of millions of bilberry and blackberry bushes, while the purple heather and golden gorse are infinitely handsomer than any tulips or geraniums. After a stiff climb, another fortified gateway gives entrance to the castle courtyard, a space big enough for a regiment of yeomanry. The immense buildings of dressed stone, where everything had to be taken up a steep crag, must have been enormously costly.

The lofty entrance hall, with vaulted stone roof, contains some genuine good armour, and large historical paintings and portraits are in the various rooms. The banqueting hall is very different from the ordinary conventional dining-room, for the room and table are round, being in one of the projecting round towers of the castle.

Mr. Fletcher Moss, who was the leader for the day, after tea gave a short extempore address on the history of Beeston. He said the precipitous rock of Beeston was probably used as a stronghold when the primeval savage thought of self-preservation. The Norman Earls of Chester fortified the rock scientifically from designs brought by the Crusaders from the East, for the

double line of round towers and connecting walls are believed to be copied from the fortifications of Constantinople. Tolls were levied from all passers-by towards the cost of the work. Of course the kings soon seized such a stronghold, and Richard II.'s treasure was here when he was done with and put away. In the civil wars the neighbouring towns of Nantwich and Bunbury were for the Parliament, and they held Beeston, but a Captain Sandford, with eight firelocks or musketeers, surprised the castle and took possession of all its wealth and goods, letting the garrison depart in peace. Steel, the retiring captain, was accused of treachery, and of having had too much beer, for which he was shot at Tynker's Croft, Nantwich. The Royalists held the castle for a year, when the siege ended again by the garrison marching out, but the Roundheads complained bitterly that there was nothing left in the place, not a drop of beer—and that was an item in politics then as now, and nothing to eat but a bit of turkey pie and an old peacock and peahen that were all feathers. The castle was then demolished, and has never been rebuilt. Part of its strength lay in the fact of its having a well (in Webb's time two wells) from the top of the rock to water, a depth variously stated at from two hundred and forty to two hundred and seventy-five feet. In former times the Beestons of Beeston owned Peckforton and other manors. The Sir George Beeston, to whom there is a monument in the fine church of Bunbury, is said to have fought bravely against the Armada at the age of eighty-eight, and died at one hundred and two. One would think he could not do much fighting at that age, but perhaps he found some money and flattered the Queen. Beeston Hall sheltered Prince Rupert in the Civil War time. It furnished another instance of this foreigner's freedom with English

property, for he gave orders to burn the house as soon as he had finished his dinner, and had about a score of countrymen hanged who were not quick enough in obeying his commands.

Friday, October 8th, 1897.

The winter session was opened at the City Art Gallery, Mosley Street, by a lecture on the "Frontier of History in Britain," by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., with lantern illustrations. There was a good attendance. The chair was taken by the Treasurer (Mr. Thomas Letherbrow).

The Chairman introduced the lecturer as one who had not only given long and patient study, but bestowed abundant original research on the difficult but fascinating problem of prehistoric man, and had thereby been able to throw a vivid light upon his circumstances and surroundings. He also congratulated the members that by migrating for the nonce from their venerable and beautiful quarters in Chetham College to the Art Gallery they were able to avail themselves of that marvel of modern skill and science the limelight, the lantern, and screen, which would enable them to see the various aspects of prehistoric life, not, as in a glass, darkly, but face to face.

Professor Dawkins began by a dissertation on the immense lapse of time covered by the inquiry, showing a diagram on which were mapped the successive epochs of the world's history extending into mythic ages; and a map on which were marked the centres of early civilisation, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and their successive waves trending northward and westward as far as Ireland and Britain. He then gave an account of the various cities, lake dwellings, and settlements which were known

and had been explored in England, speaking in detail of the recent archæological discoveries at Glastonbury, Worlebury, Maiden Castle (as to the etymology of which name the professor appealed for information), Hod Hill, and Mount Caburn. These views, defended by the sea, by rivers, or marshes, were thrown upon the screen, with (probable) elevations of the ancient British hut and its surroundings, the ground plan, structure, and interior arrangements of which were minutely described. The lecturer told in detail of the discoveries made Mr. Bulleid when trenching on the sites of these dwellings; the layers of soil, gravel, flint, charcoal, implements, pottery, and so on, coming at last, in one case, to the bones of the prehistoric man. The variety and abundance of things found in the village was remarkable. Grains of wheat in no wise differing from that sold in the markets to-day, bronze weapons, dress ornaments of various kinds, rings, brooches, safety pins, amulets, bracelets, earrings, swords, spears, keys, sickle-shaped implements, and a hundred other things of personal or domestic use, showing great constructive power and ingenuity. Still more remarkable were the metal vases, in *repoussé* work, with their bold and effective ornamentation, evidencing a high degree of skill. Nor less so were the jars and kitchen utensils in pottery, whose classic decoration proved their makers and designers to be in touch with Etruscan and Roman models.

Similar discoveries have been made elsewhere in the British Isles. In Ireland the bronze and gold ornaments in the prehistoric Iron Age prove that the influence of the Mediterranean races was felt in that remote island. One curious point noted was that the drains were arranged about these ancient British dwellings in such a manner as to show their owners were occupied, as our city fathers

are now, with the problem of sewage. On the whole, Professor Dawkins came to the conclusion that our ideas as to the ancient Briton being a destitute, naked savage, painted blue, must be considerably modified. Modern investigation proved, more and more clearly, that he had arts, arms, manufactures, and many of the comforts and conveniences of life long before the advent of the Romans.

The Chairman commented on the lecture, and was followed by the Rev. E. F. Letts, who suggested to the lecturer that a condition of savagery might not be inconsistent with proficiency in some of the arts, especially in that kind of art which was applied to the decoration of weapons and utensils. We saw in our own day that the savage tribes of Africa were not without a certain artistic proficiency in that direction. Moreover, it should be remembered that it was Tacitus who told us the Britons were painted blue.

Professor Dawkins said he could not remember such a reference in Tacitus. He believed the tradition was founded upon Juvenal's allusion to the "picti Britanni," a phrase which in itself was of uncertain etymology. Apart from that, his contention was that there was no evidence of a general low civilisation in this country such as was represented by the idea of a population of painted savages.

Friday, November 5th, 1897.

The monthly meeting was held in Chetham's College, Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A., presiding.

Mr. Mallalieu gave an account of some recent excavations and finds at Castleshaw, near Saddleworth, which is said to be an ancient Roman camp.

The Rev. E. F. Letts brought for the inspection of

[illegible] the first report of Newton Stewart from [illegible] [illegible] He said it was interesting because it gave the signature of the Presbyterian minister John Walker who was ejected from the church in [illegible]

Mr. Lees made a short communication on "De Picis Britannicis." He said at the last meeting Professor Lawrence in his paper on the Britons inferior to the Romans stated that it was usual in primitive people [illegible] in the art of wearing [illegible] smits with and perhaps [illegible] painting their bodies, as we had been accustomed to believe in our childhood. Mr. Lees ventured to question that statement, as he remembered having read in the classics that the Britons did paint themselves, and he thought considerable experience in the art was not inconsistent with such a practice. He cited instances from the works of classical authors, pointing to the prevalence of this custom at the time of the Roman Conquest.

Professor Boyd Dawkins said he wished that the evidence was as clear as appeared at first sight. When he discussed the "painted savage theory" of most of the old writers of the history of Britain, he intended to attack the savage rather than the painted side of the question. At the time of the Roman Conquest it is clear from the pages of Cæsar that the southern tribes were more highly civilised than those of the midlands and north. But to what extent this was so was an open question. The Roman army under Cæsar did not penetrate further than Verulam (St. Albans). The translation of "Picti" might mean either painted or tattooed, or clad in a dress of bright colours. In later times it might mean also the dwellers to the north of the Great Wall, and a little to the south of it. The root appears in the tribe of Pictones of Poitou, and the Pictavi of Poitiers. According to

Rhys, it means the tattooed people, a meaning which lurks also, according to that high authority, in the name of Attacotti or Scots. The general impression left on his mind from the literature of the subject is that the practice of tatooing figures of animals in blue existed throughout the north of Britain during the time of the Roman occupation. We do not know, however, how far it extended south, into the area which was dealt with in his address on the frontier of history in Britain.

Dr. Renaud, F.S.A., read a paper on a series of "Abbreviated Deeds relating to early Tenures of Land in Minshull Vernon." (See p. 49.)

Colonel Fishwick read a paper on a "Disputed Boundary in Ashworth, in the time of Edward VI." (See p. 63.)

Dr. Renaud, F.S.A., exhibited a book-plate of the late Sir Augustus W. Franks, F.S.A.

Rev. Addison Crofton sent a drawing of an axe-hammer of the Bronze Period found in a barrow, near Otterburn, Craven.

Mr. Samuel Andrew exhibited a silver London penny of Edward II. found at Lees Cemetery, near Oldham.

The Honorary Secretary announced that in the course of the excavations which are being carried out at Furness Abbey, a bulla or leaden seal has been discovered, which dates from the thirteenth century. The seal has been attached to one of the five bulls sent to this Cistercian establishment in the time of Pope Innocent IV., and whilst William de Middleton was abbot of Furness. The first of these bulls dealt with the cultivation of vines and the fisheries of Lancastria. The bulla, which was found at the south-western corner of the ruins, is about the size of a crown piece, but rather thicker, and almost round. It is in excellent preservation. One side bears

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr. [illegible] Thomas [illegible] Vicar [illegible] Vicarage [illegible] Borrow [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] remains, the [illegible] of which were [illegible] time ago [illegible] Mr. Lockham of [illegible] Bridge. The remains [illegible] in an [illegible] in [illegible] in Lincoln [illegible] [illegible] Trent and [illegible] the [illegible] of Borrow. They are [illegible] the [illegible] bones together with weapons of the chase [illegible] personal [illegible], but by the [illegible] being [illegible] in an [illegible] [illegible] being [illegible] what was originally a mound, the [illegible] bearing the name of a ring of earth or stone. They belong to the Neolithic or later Stone Age. The party assembled at Hayden Bridge and proceeded to Wasswater Moor, where a large concourse of people, who had got wind of the affair, were waiting their arrival. Here the interesting remains were exposed to view, and described in detail by Mr. Williamson. They consisted of the remains of two persons, one an adult and the other a very young child, very well preserved, notwithstanding the lapse of time; they had evidently been buried in [illegible], as amongst the bones were numerous fragments of charcoal. Another interesting object was an urn, or cup, which bore traces of ornamentation; but this, as well as the urn in which the remains were found, were in a fragmentary condition. Besides these, there were several arrow-heads and scrapers of flint. The circle is a very large one, measuring no less than thirty-five yards in diameter, and it is probable, as Mr.

Wilkinson pointed out, that several people were buried there. The altitude of the place where the remains were found is about one thousand three hundred and ten feet above the sea-level, and commands an extensive view of the surrounding country, than which nothing grander or more lovely could be desired; but who can imagine the changes that have passed over the landscape since these half-human aborigines lived, moved, and had their being. Mr. Wilkinson delivered a short address, in which he spoke of the disinterment of the first urn in 1842, when he was a shepherd, and of the discovery of the urn at Hell Clough in 1886. He described the different modes of burial in vogue at various periods, including the barrow, the earth circle, and the stone circle, and gave it as his opinion that all who were interred in such places were either chiefs or men of note. He pointed out that, within a radius of twelve miles from Halifax, upwards of three thousand flints had been found within a few years. In Neolithic times these hills were probably wooded to their summits, as shown by the presence of roots and branches of forest trees in the lower layers of peat. Whether or not there is any evidence in this district to prove that man is pre-glacial was yet an open question, but Mr. Wilkinson believes that before long it will be set at rest.

Friday, December 3rd, 1897.

The monthly meeting was held at Chetham's Library, Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, M.A., presiding.

The following members were elected: Lord Derby; Messrs. James Williamson Wearing, M.A.; John Henry Bradbury, James Fleming, Francis Smith, Henry Brierley,

Joseph Hopwood, F. W. Brockbank. George Seed, John Dodd, and Walter Taylor.

Dr. Colley March, F.S.A., contributed a paper entitled "Deæ Matres," and, in his absence, it was read by the Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A. It was illustrated by a series of drawings and diagrams. (See p. 100.)

Mr. J. Dean exhibited a clay jug found at a depth of eight feet in a layer of sand and gravel at Middleton. He said it had been pronounced as Roman pottery by a Derby antiquary, but several of the members present thought it much more modern.

The Rev. H. A. Hudson, M.A., gave a short communication on an old stone dug up from under the sun dial in the Cathedral Yard about twelve months ago. This stone was reported to the Society by Mr. John Owen ("Old Mortality"), who thought it might be Roman. Other members of the Society were equally puzzled, and one suggested that it might have formed a portion of the old churchyard cross, sun dials having frequently supplanted the ancient cross. Mr. Hudson's opinion was that it was a portion of a pinnacle or canopied buttress, possibly one of the original pinnacles of the clerestory of the church. The measurements convinced him it was an English stone and not Roman (its general character was certainly more Gothic than classic), and that the stone formed a portion of one of the pinnacles of the old fifteenth century tower, which fell in the storm of 1792, and which were replaced by those afterwards taken down with the rest of the tower in 1863. A somewhat similar instance of a pinnacle stone being displaced by a gale of wind occurred at St. Michael's Church, Manchester, during the storm on Sunday, November 28th last. The stone, detached from the south-east pinnacle, crashed through the roof and fell close by the font, at

which a baptism was actually taking place at the time, the damage being estimated at fifty pounds.

Mr. Samuel Andrew read, by deputy, a short paper on "Old John Heywood, of Saddleworth." (See page 73.)

Mr. T. Letherbrow exhibited an ancient Mexican vase, dug up at St. Christobel.

Mr. T. G. Rylands, F.S.A., sent an account of a neolithic spindle-whorl, found in his garden at Thelwall.

Mr. William Harrison exhibited photographs of Pilgrims' Cross on Holcombe Hill, and the arch of Strata Florida Abbey.

Mr. S. Jackson sent a drawing of the base of a cross at Garstang.

On the motion of Mr. J. B. Robinson, seconded by Mr. Waters, Messrs. J. Burgess and Faithwaite were elected Auditors.

Tuesday, December 7th, 1897.

The annual conversazione of the Society was held in the Manchester City Art Gallery.

Mr. James Tait, of Owens College, delivered an address on "Some Recent Theories on the Origin of Boroughs." He said that in these latter days, when the towns threatened to engulf the country population, it was hard to realise that there was once a time when the process was reversed, and a purely agricultural society swept away every trace of municipal organisation. Yet nothing was more certain than that our English forefathers, when they first settled in this island, brought with them the primitive German hatred of towns, as the graves of freedom, and cities and boroughs which they found here became again the abode of a population devoted to agriculture. By the tenth century a class of boroughs had once more come into existence. It was not clear

how the distinction arose which differentiated a borough from a village, although the subject had long engaged the attention of many astute legal and historical minds. English boroughs since the Norman Conquest gave very little difficulty, because they could generally put their finger upon a charter of their incorporation by the Crown or some feudal lord, but the Normans found in existence a considerable number of boroughs which possessed no charters whatever, and which varied in size and importance from great cities like London to little Wiltshire boroughs like Calne. Mr. Tait criticised the opinions of Professor Maitland as to the military origin of boroughs, and suggested that there was much to be said in favour of their commercial origin.

Colonel Fishwick (President of the Society), who presided, expressed the thanks of the company to Mr. Tait.

Afterwards a musical programme was gone through, vocal and instrumental items being contributed by the Misses Wormald, Miss Harriet Burrows, Mr. John Willcock, and Mr. Herbert Yates, with a recitation by Mr. J. D. Andrew. A novel feature of the proceedings was an exhibition of objects of archæological interest and of articles which have fallen into desuetude in the Victorian era, including snuff boxes, patch boxes, pounce boxes, old watches and seals, shoe buckles, lamps, flint and steel, tinder boxes, brimstone matches, flint guns and pistols, swords, brooches, and rings, and there was a special collection of Shaksperean relics on view.

The exhibits included the following:—

Major Robinson: Ancient silver, miniatures, snuff boxes, &c.

Mr. G. B. Lancaster-Woodburne: Miniature portraits, shoe buckles, empire ball and morning dresses, impression of seal of Captain Lancaster, of Trafalgar fame.

Mr. D. H. Langton: Silver pocket nutmeg grater, silver shoe buckles, mourning brooches, rings and earrings, miniatures.

Mr. F. J. Harte: Shaksperean relics, being heir-looms of the Harte family, descendants of Joan Shakspere, sister of the poet.

Miss Moss: Tinder box with flint and steel, puff box.

Mr. G. C. Yates: Collection of chap-books and valentines.

Miss Yates: Italian cameos, Chinese snuff bottles.

Dr. Renaud: Rushlight holder and tinder box.

Mr. J. N. Ogden: Collection of gold coins and patch boxes; gold filigree brooch, set with jewels, once the property of Mary Queen of Scots.

Mr. J. Phelps: Chalcedony ring.

Mr. A. T. Forrest: Ivory miniatures.

Mr. Nathan Heywood: Patch boxes and snuff boxes.

Mr. J. R. Faithwaite: Tudor silver spoons.

Mr. B. H. Mullen: Scold's bridle, thumbscrews, horn-book with illustrations.

Rev. E. F. Letts, Mr. A. Nicholson, Mr. J. H. Reynolds, and other members exhibited various objects of interest.

Friday, January 14th, 1898.

The monthly meeting was held in Chetham's Library, the Rev. E. F. Letts in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected as members: Dr. Bowman, David H. Langton, Joseph Hopwood, and Alfred King.

Mr. William J. Foxlee exhibited a Roman third brass coin of Tetricus, and a first brass of Germanicus, found on the site of the new goods station at Alport Town,

Deansgate. Mr. G. C. Yates also exhibited third brass coins of Tetricus Pater and Tetricus Filius, found at Castlefield. Mr. N. Heywood, first brass of Domitilla, wife of Vespasian (79 to 81), struck in honour of Domitilla by her son Titus; also a first brass of Manlia Scantilla (A.D. 193), wife of Didius Julianus. Mr. Samuel Andrew, coin of Gallienus, struck at Alexandria in fourth year of his reign, found in Manchester twenty years ago; also a silver-gilt St. George medal, worn to confer "good luck."

Mr. S. Jackson sent a drawing of a stone celt, 5¾ inches by 2 inches, found at Boulton Bridge, Barnacre; also drawing of an iron barbed instrument, probably a spear head.

Mr. W. H. Sutcliffe presented two photographs of Stiperden Crosses and Abel Cross, near Burnley.

Mr. Alfred Darbyshire, F.S.A., reported that the old churchyard at Knutsford, which had been in a disgraceful state for many years, had been recently surrounded by a wall and many of the old gravestones placed upright. This was partly due to the remonstrances of the Society after their visit to the district.

Mr. S. Jackson, the local secretary for Garstang district, sent the following paper on the course of the Roman road from Manchester to Lancaster, through Ribchester. He said: It is not without diffidence that I offer the following remarks upon the course of the Roman road from Manchester to Lancaster, through Ribchester, or rather, upon such part of it as I have investigated; but, as I have given ten years of study to the matter, it seemed to me a pity not to make a permanent record of such knowledge as I have been able to acquire, or, at least, of the results of my researches along part of the course of this road. We must all know that the difficulty of tracing these remains is great, from the fact that so much of the country through

which these roads passed has been brought under cultivation, that often other roads better adapted to the wants of the times have been formed, and that the old roads being no longer required have fallen into disuse; and these, forming obstacles to the cultivation of the land through which they passed, have often been removed, and the materials of which they were composed used for other purposes. At some places they have become buried, and consequently are very difficult to find. I am in hopes that the remarks I now make will assist others in either confirming me or the contrary: if I am right, some accidental discovery may determine the matter. That the road I have endeavoured to trace was purely a military one is pretty certain, as along its course, so far as I know, no further traces of Roman occupation have been found between Galgate and Ribchester. The road must have run mostly as it does now, through moors and fells, little likely to attract a resident population. It is generally believed that at Galgate this road joined another coming from Preston, and that they ran on as one to Lancaster. At Galgate my researches began. I have been unable to find traces of any other road than that now in use leading to the Wyre at Street Bridge; from which point commences a new road across a bridge, running past Harrisend Fell, and on to the Brock. Shortly before reaching the bridge an opening in the hedge has been made up from stones evidently taken from the adjoining meadow, through which the road passed to the river, about eighty yards lower down the stream. Only the foundation of the bridge can on this side be seen, but on the southern bank the abutment is solid and good. Whether the bridge was Roman or not I cannot determine. The road slopes down from this towards a small wood, and, passing through it, is to be found on the other

side in a good state of preservation for a considerable distance, as far as Burn's Farm. It would cross the Scorton road, is not visible in the first field, but comes into view in the second, and is very distinct. Nothing is seen of it as far as Fell End Farm, but from this place is a good road leading on to Gregory's Barn, crossing Grisedale Beck, and leaving Leathercoat Wood on the right. On Grisedale Lea Farm a long length of it is to be seen, at which place a cross formerly stood, which was removed some years ago. In the next meadow no trace of the road is to be found, but a gap in the hedge has evidently been made up from the stones taken from it. It would lead into the new road, and would proceed along this to Calder Side Farm, passing through the adjoining meadow on its course to the Calder. The tenant of this farm informed me that when digging some depth in this meadow he had come across a good paved road. The exact spot at which it crossed the Calder I have been unable to find, but it would probably be near the Oakenclough Paperworks; but as the ground has been so disturbed in the erection of these works, no traces can now be seen. However, I should expect to find it not far from the front of Calder Bank House. The new road passes here, but I think it does not follow the course of the old one. I was struck by the appearance of two rows of trees above the level of the new road, and as they were evidently not planted as a shelter I went behind the wall at a higher level, and found traces of the old road between these trees, with one watercourse alongside still remaining. Its probable continuation was past the Moor Cock Inn to another wood on the opposite side of the road, where some traces are still visible. Passing over Rough Moor to Stanygate (now Stangyule), though no traces are to be seen, I should say that the road passed this way through

the adjoining meadows to Broadgate, where a wood about one hundred yards long may be seen, in which is a paved road, no doubt part of the old one, for no one would think of making a road in such a locality without continuations at either end. In the next fields many worn stones are lying about, and others have been used for draining and fencing purposes as far as the Garstang and Chipping road, crossing which a road formerly existed passing on to the bank of the Brock. The road down here is well preserved, going towards the Hipping Stones, where was the ford, and on the opposite bank is a good zig-zag road leading to Snape Rake, and passing on to Windy Arbor. An old lady living there told me that her grandmother always said it was the king's highway past her house.* Now comes the question, How did it proceed? It has often been surmised that it went over Beaton Fell, and, on turning sharply round Walker Lane, there is an old track leading to the base of the fell, but it does not appear to pass over it, though there is a track under the fell, not however at all of the character we might expect. I have for years searched over the fell as well as round it in every direction but have been unable to find any trace of a road, and have come to the conclusion that no such road existed; and in this I am confirmed by a man who for forty years had worked on the roads round the fell, who was certain that no road ever went over it. Now the Romans, though they would not hesitate to pass over a hill if necessary, would not go out of their way to do so; besides, a road across Beaton Fell would lead to Longridge and not to Ribchester. At length I came to the conclusion that it went along Walker Lane End, past

* Down to this point the course described is practically the same as that shown as probable in the *Archæological Map of Lancashire*.

Lickhurst Farm, and so on to Broadhead Farm, and I was informed by a gentleman that he had seen a plan belonging to the owner, now deceased, who showed him where the road passed through his land, and which was marked on this plan. It would then proceed towards Water Gate, where is a very straight piece of road leading towards Clap Gate. How it passed requires further investigation, or perhaps some accident may lead to its being discovered. The course I here mark would pass through the valley between Parlick and Beaton Fells, and would be more direct, and a road would be less difficult to form. I may also mention that a straight line drawn from Galgate to Ribchester would pass through Water Gate. From Clap Gate, in front of the Derby Arms Inn, is a road generally thought in the neighbourhood to be Roman; if so, it would run on to Longridge Fell, and perhaps join the well-known road coming from Overborough, or more probably follow along the fell and through the land where the reservoir now is formed. An old man told me that he had worked at the formation of this reservoir, and that a road was come upon there, but he could give no further information about it. It would then proceed down Written Stone Lane towards the Preston road. At a house called Written Stone Farm I came across what appeared to be a Roman medallion, found by a boy whilst digging for a drain alongside this road. The boy, thinking to clean it, did it so effectually that he obliterated all traces of identification. It is of Corinthian brass, and I think it has indistinct traces of a Roman Emperor's head, probably that of Nerva, faced by a younger head, or that of a female. On the other side appears to be the head of a lady with ringlets, but all is so undefined that it is impossible to speak with certainty about it, beyond saying that I feel sure the

coin was Roman. Proceeding and crossing the Preston road, the Roman road would probably reach Ribchester nearly along that used at present. It is just visible as we approach the town, at a lower level than the road now in use, and so on through the town to the ford of the Ribble. In the course I have indicated occur the following apparently Roman names, which seem worthy of attention: Galgate, Street Bridge, Stanygate, Broadgate, Windy Arbor, Water Gate, and Clap Gate. My researches terminated at the Ribble, but it may be worth while to show the continuation of the road on its course towards Manchester. After passing the ford at the Ribble it would pass through Osbaldeston, Mellor, near Blackburn, to Lower Darwen, where it is still in use, and where Roman remains have been discovered, Affetside, where it is to be seen, and where remains have frequently been brought to light, and Cockey Moor, (has this name Cockey Moor any connection with the disputed site of Coccium?), thence by Radcliffe, and so on to Manchester.

Mr. William Harrison read a paper on "Ancient Beacons of Lancashire and Cheshire," illustrated with drawings by Mr. Herbert Harrison. (See page 16.)

A discussion took place, in which Messrs. S. Andrew, D. Howorth, R. Marsden, J. D. Andrew, Joshua Taylor, Rev. H. A. Hudson, and the chairman took part.

Mr. John Owen contributed the following notes on Grindlow and the Grindlow and Birch families: The earliest reference to the Grindlow family in the Manchester Registers occurs on 5th November, 1576, when Jone, daughter of Rauffe Grydlowe, was buried. Then follow the marriage of John Gryndlowe and Elizabeth Gorldston, on 22nd December, the same year; the baptism of John, son of James Grydlowe, on 11th February, 1580; and another John, on 24th April, 1586; the burial of John

Gryndlowe, of Gryndlowe, on 13th April, 1593: and of James Gryndlowe, of the same place, on 6th June, 1596. Isabel, widow of John, was buried 20th March, 1597: and Alice, widow of another John, on 19th July, 1598. On 19th September, 1612, Elizabeth Girdlowe and Robert Travis were married; and on 28th June, 1623, John Gredley and Katherine Brock were united. The Birches, of Grindlow, are commemorated in the following entries in the Manchester Registers: Burials, 14th January, 1578, John Birche, of Martinscrosse, hoceholder [this entry was long a puzzle, but Mr. Owen now thoeght that the cross may have been originally dedicated to St. Martin]; 18th December, 1615, Katherine, daughter of William Byrche; 11th March, 1619, Margerie, daughter of Richard; 29th April, 1625, Richard Birche; 18th July, 1626, William Birche, chapman; 6th November, 1635, John Birche, "myliener;" 23rd August, 1648, Ann, daughter of William; 28th December, 1666, Richard Birch, "deceased in Grindlce;" 30th September, 1676, William Birch; 1694, "Mary, wife of the late Dr. Birch, was buried in the Somer house in the garden at Grindloe." William Birch and Margaret Chorlton were married on 24th August, 1606. The following, from the Register of Baptisms, are probably their children: 12th June, 16c8, Edmund; 28th October, 1610, John, "son of William Birche, of Grindlowe Crosse;" 13th December, 1612, Alice; 16th July, 1615, Katherine; 15th December, 1616, William; 21st March, 1618, Margaret; 21st January, 1620, Anna; 12th May, 1622, Robert; 16th January, 1624, Anna. At a later date, 4th November, 1643, Martha and Mary, daughters of William Birche, of Grindowe, were baptised. In the Manchester Court Leet Records, 19th October, 1647, it is stated that the jury find "that George Travis, sen., of the Yieldhouses

[Rusholme], is departed this life, and that Martha, his daughter, is his sole heir for lands in the Myllnegate, and hath married William Birch, of Grindlow." On 2nd December, 1654, the following entry occurs among the marriages: "John Renshaw, of Urmston, in the parish of Flixton, husbandman, son of Henry Renshaw, of the same, yeoman, and Margaret Birch, of Grindlowe, daughter of William Birch, deceased. Witnesses, Robert Birch, William Birch, Henry Harrison, *alias* Hughes." The late Mr. John Higson states, in his *Gorton Recorder*, 1852, that the tomb of Dr. Birch and his wife at Grindlow Hall was in existence a few years previously. More recently Mr. Higson, in a letter to Mr. Owen, remarked: "Aunt Susan says the tomb of Dr. Birch and his wife (buried 1694) stood in front of Longsight Hall, nearly against the garden wall, and within a few feet of the highway. Of course, when it was converted in two genteel (?) residences, by being stuccoed in front, the tomb was removed, as the new tenants, with nineteenth century notions, might not like to see the silent monitor of their own fate ever displaying itself before the drawing-room windows." Mr. Higson said he was at a loss to determine who this Dr. Birch was. In the Inquisition post mortem of Thomas La Ware, in 1427, he is shown as seized of "3 messuagi, 140 acris terre, 10 acris prati, et 20 acris pasture in Greneloweth" (Towneley's *Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, ed. W. Langton, ii. 17). Another early reference to Grindlow occurs in the rental of Thomas West, Lord La Ware, in 1473 (Harland's *Mamcestre*, iii. 500), thus: "Thomas Whitehead, chaplain of a chantry in the church of Mamcestre, for one tenement with appurtenances in Grene Lowe [in Gorton], which he held freely of the said lord—20s." In the *Manchester Mercury* of 4th September, 1787, the following advertisement appears: "To be Sold

the fee simple and inheritance of that Capital Messuage and dwelling house called the Grindlow, with the Barns, stables, outbuildings, Orchards, Gardens, and 14 acres 18 perches of land, situate lying and being in Chorton row, and in the possession of Mr. John Watson as tenant."

APPENDIX I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUITIES AND BIOGRAPHY. PUBLICATIONS DURING 1897.

BY JOHN HIBBERT SWANN,

OF THE FREE REFERENCE LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

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Axon (Ernest). Gerrard Winstanley, the Leveller. *Notes and Queries*, September 4th, pp. 185-186.

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Vol. 50: John Rylands, merchant and manufacturer (1801–1888); Peter Rylands, politician (1820–1887); Samuel William Ryley, actor and author (1759–1837); William Ryley (the elder), herald and archivist (*d.* 1667); Thomas Salthouse, Quaker (1630–1691); John Sanderson, D.D., Catholic divine (*d.* 1602); Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York (1516?–1588); Sir John Savage, politician and soldier (*d.* 1492); Thomas Savage, archbishop of York (*d.* 1507); James Saxon, portrait-painter (*d.* 1817?); Edmund Scambler, bishop of Peterborough and Norwich (1510?–1594); James Christopher Scholes, antiquary (1852–1890); Carl Schorlemmer, chemist (1834–1892).

Vol. 51: Alexander John Scott, first principal of Owens College (1805–1866); Cuthbert Scott or Scot, bishop of Chester (*d.* 1565); Felix John Vaughan Seddon, orientalist (1798–1865); John Seddon, Unitarian divine (1719–1769); John Seddon, rector of Warrington Academy (1725–1770); Thomas Seddon, author (1753–1796); Richard Shacklock, Catholic divine (*fl.* 1575); Edmund Sharpe, architect (1809–1877); Sir Edmund Shaw or Shaa, lord mayor of London (*d.* 1487?).

Vol. 52: George Sheffield, artist (1839–1892); William Shepherd, dissenting minister and politician (1768–1847); Richard Sherlock, divine (1612–1689); William Shippen, parliamentary Jacobite (1673–1743); Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, bishop of Chichester (1782–1842); William Simpson or Sympson, Quaker (1627?–1671); Robert or John Singleton, Roman Catholic divine (*d.* 1544); John Smethurst, Unitarian minister (1793–1859).

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SUBJECT INDEX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1897.

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Alderley Songs *C. N. and Q.*
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Capernwray Hall *M. F. and P.*
Cartmel Church *Tarney*
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Cheadle Bulkeley Hall *M. C. N.*
Cheese, Cheshire, Folk-Lore *M. C. N.*
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Handforth *M. W. T.*
Haunted Houses *M. C. N.*
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Knowsley Hall *M. F. and P.*
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Wythines (John) *Morris*

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council have pleasure in submitting their Fifteenth Annual Report, and in being able to state that the Scciety continues to maintain the position, both in respect of numbers and the interest of its meetings, to which it has attained during the last few years. The subjects which have chiefly engaged the attention of the working members are those which can be pursued at home or in the public libraries or the offices of the national records. It is a matter of regret that so few investigations have been made by aid of the spade on ancient sites, but the difficulty in obtaining the necessary facilities in such thickly populated counties as ours, where nearly all the land which is not built over is under cultivation, almost precludes such operations. Happily, there is still an ample field for investigation in the domain of local history and topography, and it is hoped that many of the members, who have not hitherto contributed papers, may be attracted to a pursuit which all who have entered upon it have found to be full of interest.

MEMBERSHIP.—Eighteen new members have been elected during the past year, and sixteen have been lost by death,

resignation, and other causes. The number of members at present is as follows:—

Ordinary Members	274
Life Members	44
Honorary Members	5
	323

The total in 1896 was 321.

The alteration in the rules for electing new members, proposed by the Council in the last Report, was adopted by the members at the last annual meeting, and it has been found to work satisfactorily. It will be remembered that one of the alterations was to reduce the entrance fee from one guinea to half a guinea.

WINTER MEETINGS.—The monthly meetings, during the months January to March and October to December inclusive, have been held as usual in the reading-room of the Chetham Library, except the opening meeting, on the 8th October of the present winter session, which was held in the City Art Gallery.

The following is a list of the papers read and of short communications:—

1897.
Jan. 29.—Annual Meeting.
Feb. 5.—The Ancient Lords of Middleton. Mr. J. Dean.
,, 5.—Hall-i'th'-Wood. Major French.
Mar. 5.—English and Continental Control of Coin Issues. Mr. W. S. Churchill.
,, 5.—The Stycas of Northumbria. Mr. Nathan Heywood.
,, 5.—Ordsal Hall and the Radcliffes. Mr. C. Roeder.
Oct. 8.—The Frontier History in Britain. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S.
Nov. 5.—A Series of Abbreviated Deeds relating to Early Tenures of Land, &c., in Minshull Vernon. Dr. Renaud, F.S.A.
,, 5.—Disputed Boundary in Ashworth, *temp.* Edward VI. Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.
,, 5.—De Pictis Britannicis. Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A.
Dec. 3.—Deæ Matres. Dr. H. Colley March, F.S.A.
,, 3.—Old John Heywood, of Saddleworth. Mr. S. Andrew.

1898.
Jan. 14.—Ancient Beacons of Lancashire and Cheshire. Mr. William Harrison.
,, 14.—Roman Road Research in Garstang District. Mr. S. Jackson.

SUMMER MEETINGS were held at the places and on the dates as in the following list:—

1897.
April 7.—Queen's Park Museum.
,, 26.—Clayton Hall.
May 8.—Alderley.
,, 22.—Mellor Church.
,, 29.—Speke Hall.
,, 31.—Hawkshead Pike.
June 30.—Ordsal Hall.
July 10.—Lancaster District.
,, 14.—Robin Hood's Picking Rods.
August 2.—Settle and Victoria Cave.
,, 21.—Beeston and Peckforton Castles.

CONVERSAZIONE.—A Conversazione was held in the City Art Gallery, Manchester, on December 7th, in the course of which Mr. James Tait, M.A., lecturer on Modern History in the Owens College, gave a short address on "Some Recent Theories on the Origin of Boroughs." The chair was taken by Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A., President of the Society.

After the lecture a musical and literary entertainment was given, under the direction of Mr. John Wilcock, by Miss Lillie Wormald, Miss Harriet Burrows, Mr. J. D. Andrew, Mr. Wilcock, and Mr. Herbert Yates.

A very interesting collection of plate, miniatures, engravings, documents, &c., was exhibited, and many objects which have fallen into desuetude during the Victorian era.

CONFERENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.—The Conference was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, on November 3rd, 1897. This Society was again represented by Mr. Alexander Brooke and Mr. C. C. Smith.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF LANCASHIRE, AND TRANSACTIONS OF THIS SOCIETY.—As there are but few copies of the *Survey* on hand, those members who desire to possess copies of this valuable work would do well to secure them without delay. Members who wish to complete their sets of the *Transactions* can now obtain most of the volumes at the reduced price of 7s. 6d. each. Application for either the *Survey* or the *Transactions* may be made to the Hon. Secretary.

OBITUARY.—We have lost four members by death during the year, viz.:—

Mrs. George Linnæus (Isabella) Banks, who was elected an honorary member of the Society on November 3rd, 1893, died in London on May 4th, 1897, aged seventy-six. She was born at Manchester on March 25th, 1821, and published her first work, *Ivy Leaves*, a volume of verse, in 1843, two years before her marriage. Her first novel was not published until 1865. This was *God's Providence House*, a tale of old Chester, and was followed by other novels, the most famous of which was *The Manchester Man*, a graphic picture of Manchester in the early years of the nineteenth century. She took a keen interest in local antiquities, which she showed not only in her books, but in a large number of contributions to the *Manchester City News*, and other papers. Her election as a member of this Society gave her great delight, and she made several communications to its proceedings.

Mr. Edmund J. Baillie, F.L.S., who joined the Society at its foundation in 1883, died at Upton, near Chester, on 18th October, 1897, in his forty-seventh year. He was of Scotch descent, but was born at Waverton, Cheshire, and during the whole of his working life was connected with the firm of F. and A. Dickson, subsequently Dicksons Limited, seedsmen and nurserymen, of Chester. He was a man of varied interests, a writer and speaker on botany and horticulture, a deep student and admirer of John Ruskin, a competent artist and musician. He was honorary secretary

and treasurer of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, treasurer of the Kingsley Memorial Trust, and secretary of the Chester Arts and Crafts Gulld. For many years he had been a vegeterian, and a paper by him, entitled "A Guild of Good Life," was read on the very day of his death before a vegeterian conference at Manchester.

Mr. James Henry Johnson, F.G.S., who died on 21st June, 1897, at his residence at Hallgarth, near Carnforth, joined the Society in 1883. He was born at Wincham, Cheshire, in 1829, and worked from the age of thirteen with a salt and coal shipper at Runcorn. In 1860 he settled at Wigan, and ultimately became a chief proprietor of the Abram Coal Company. He took great interest in literary and historical subjects, and collected a large and valuable library. In 1887 he gave £5,000 to the Wigan Mining School, and built a wing of the Wigan Infirmary.

Mr. William Smith, M.D., of Eccles, medical inspector of factories, and one of the first elected members of the Eccles Town Council, died during the year. He was chairman of the Eccles Junior Conservative Club, and a prominent Freemason. He joined the Society on 7th October, 1887.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The cordial thanks of the Society are given to the Feoffees of Chetham Hospital for their kindness in continuing to grant the use of the meeting rooms of the Council and the Society; and also to the Rev. Addison Crofton, M.A., and Mr. Joel Wainwright, J.P., for valued assistance on the occasion of the visits of the Society to Settle and Marple.

The thanks of the members are again due to Mr. C. W. Sutton, the Editor of the *Transactions;* Mr. T. Letherbrow, Hon. Treasurer; and Mr. G. C. Yates, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary; and also to the Auditors.

THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH THOS. LETHERBROW, TREASURER.

FROM THE 27TH JANUARY, 1897, TO 27TH JANUARY, 1898.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last half year	21	19	3
Dividend on £200 Corporation Stock	5	11	2
Bank Interest	0	14	6
Four Volumes of *Transactions* sold	1	10	0
241 Subscriptions at 10s. 6d.	126	10	6
Entrance Fees	7	17	6
Two Life Memberships	14	14	0
	£178	16	11

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

Balance	£17	18	11
Corporation Stock	200	0	0
Books and Volumes of *Transactions*	50	0	0
	£267	18	11

Cr.

				£	s.	d.
Roberts, Printing				2	1	6
Insurance				0	4	0
Expenses at Winter Meetings:—						
Chetham College	£4	0	0			
Forsyth Brothers	4	0	0			
Chapman, Lantern	1	10	0			
Conversazione	10	7	6			
				19	17	6
Expenses at Summer Meetings				1	18	6
Cheque Book				0	2	1
Bank Commission				2	2	0
Archæological Congress:						
Annual Subscription	£1	0	0			
300 Copies of Index	1	17	6			
				2	17	6
Clerical Help to Honorary Secretary and Treasurer				8	8	0
Postages, Honorary Secretary, Treasurer, and Editor				10	6	11
R. Gill, Printing Annual Volume				113	0	0
Balance				17	18	11
				£178	16	11

Examined and found correct, January 27th, 1898.

J. BURGESS,
J. R. FAITHWAITE.

RULES.

Revised January, 1897.

1. PREAMBLE.—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions, with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.

2. NAME, &c.—This Society shall be called the "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

3. ELECTION OF MEMBERS.—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall, as soon as possible after the receipt of the application, determine the election or otherwise of the candidate. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription; and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription. Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings

of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention, *on or before the 30th November*, in that year.

4. HONORARY MEMBERS.—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.

5. HONORARY LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

6. SUBSCRIPTIONS.—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

7. ENTRANCE FEE.—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of half a guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.

8. LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.

9. GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, not more than six Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election.

Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

10. MODE OF ELECTING OFFICERS OTHER THAN THE AUDITORS.—The Honorary Secretary shall send out notices convening the annual meeting, and with such notices enclose blank nomination papers of members to fill the vacancies in the Council and Officers, other than the Auditor. The said notice and nomination paper to be sent to each member twenty-one days prior to the annual meeting. The nomination paper shall be returned to the Secretary not less than seven days before the annual meeting, such paper being signed by the proposer and seconder. Should such nominations not be sufficient to fill the several offices becoming vacant, the Council shall nominate members to supply the remaining vacancies. A complete list shall be printed, and in case of a contest such list shall be used as a ballot paper.

11. SECTIONAL COMMITTEES.—The Council may from time to time appoint Sectional Committees, consisting of members of their own body and of such other members of the Society as they may think can, from their special knowledge, afford aid in such branches of archæology as the following: 1. Prehistoric Remains. 2. British and Roman Antiquities. 3. Mediæval, Architectural, and other Remains. 4. Ancient Manners and Customs, Folk-Lore, History of Local Trades and Commerce. 5. Records, Deeds, and other MSS. 6. Numismatics. 7. Genealogy, Family History, and Heraldry. 8. Local Bibliography and Authorship.

12. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to

maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence among speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents, it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council immediately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a Report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

13. Annual Meeting.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.

14. Ordinary Meetings.—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester at 6-15 p.m., on the *first Friday* of each month, from *October* to *April*, for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

15. General Meetings.—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

16. Exploration and Excavation.—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

17. PUBLICATIONS.—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back numbers of the *Transactions* and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.

18. PROPERTY.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.

19. INTERPRETATION CLAUSE.—In these rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

20. ALTERATION OF RULES.—These Rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

Date of Election.	
December 7th, 1888	Abraham, Miss. E. C., Grassendale Park, near Liverpool
September 4th, 1883	Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton
March 21st, 1883	Agnew, Sir William, Bart., 11, Great Stanhope Street, London
June 17th, 1884	Ainsworth, Mrs. Frank, Lostock Dene, Lostock, Bolton
October 11th, 1895	Albiston, Miss, Mount Heaton, Heaton Mersey
November 4th, 1892	Allen, Rev. George, M.A., Shaw, Oldham
September 4th, 1883	Andrew, Frank, J.P., Chester Square, Ashton-under-Lyne (deceased)
June 11th, 1886	Andrew, J. D., Lyme View, Davenport, Stockport
July 25th, 1885	Andrew, James, Lynwood, Westminster Road, Eccles
July 25th, 1885	Andrew, James Lawton, M.D., Heaton Norris
September 4th, 1883	Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham
October 8th, 1886	Arning, C. H., West View, Victoria Park
March 21st, 1883	Arnold, W. T., M.A., 75, Nelson Street, Manchester
April 15th, 1885	*Ashworth, Edmund, J.P., Egerton Hall, Bolton-le-Moors
December 4th, 1885	Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury
April 14th, 1885	Atkinson, Rev. Canon, B.D., Gedney, Holbeach Lincolnshire
November 5th, 1886	Attkins, Edgar, 69, Burton Road, Withington
October 12th, 1888	Axon, Ernest, Free Reference Library, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Axon, W. E. A., M.R.S.L., 47, Derby Street, Moss Side
March 21st, 1883	*Bailey, Sir W. H., Sale Hall, Cheshire
October 10th, 1890	Ball, William, Blackfriars Street, Manchester

February 7th, 1890	Barber, Robert, Winnats Knoll, Prestwich
January 11th, 1884	Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton
June 13th, 1885	Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883	Barraclough, Thomas, C.E., 20, Bucklersbury, London
March 21st, 1883	Bateman, C. T. Tallent-, Cromwell Road, Stretford
	Bateman, Robert, Free Library, Oldham
April 14th, 1885	Baugh, Joseph, Edendale, Whalley Range
January 7th, 1887	Baugh, Mrs. Edendale, Whalley Range
January 7th, 1887	*Bayley, Rev. C. J., M.A., Oakleigh, Buxton
July 30th, 1885	Bayley, Charles W., 5, Polygon, Eccles
October 11th, 1895	Baynes, Fred., Samlesbury Hall, Preston
June 26th, 1883	Baynton, Alfred, The Hollies, Clifton Road, Withington
December 1st, 1893	Beaumont, Jas. W., Fulshaw, Wilmslow
January 8th, 1892	Beckett, J. M., Newstead, Buxton
October 7th, 1892	Bellamy, C. H., F.R.G.S., Belmont, Brook Road, Heaton Chapel
January 29th, 1885	Berry, Charles F. Walton, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side
December 7th, 1883	Berry, James, Mayfield, Grimsargh, Preston
July 31st, 1886	Booth, James, 153, High Street, Oxford Road
November 6th, 1892	Bourke, Walter L., Worsley Old Hall
March 7th, 1890	Bowden, Daniel, The Grove, Oldfield Road, Altrincham
September 4th, 1883	Bowden, William Gorsefield, Patricroft
January 14th, 1898	Bowman, Dr. Geo., Monifieth, Old Trafford
September 24th 1897	Bradbury, Jno. H., 6, Bowker's Road, Bolton
June 26th, 1883	Bradsell, Rev. B. J. T., 21, South Street, Rochdale
November 5th, 1897	Brierley, Henry, County Court, Wigan
November 5th, 1886	Brimelow, William, 153, Park Road, Bolton
May 7th, 1885	*Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J. P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang
February 5th, 1897	Brocklebank, F. W., 2, Fold Street, Bolton
November 1st, 1895	Bromwich, F. A., 7, Rectory Road, Crumpsall
October 7th, 1887	Brooke, Alexander, 34, Craven Hill Gardens, Bayswater, London, W.
September 28th, 1883	Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., F.S.A., Barlow Hall, Manchester
October 10th, 1890	†Browne, Walter T., Chetham Hospital, Manchester
March 5th, 1886	Buckley, George F., Linfitts House, Delph, Oldham
September 26th, 1889	Burgess, John, Shaftsbury House, Cheadle Hulme
June 18th, 1898	Burgess, Mrs., Shaftsbury House, Cheadle Hulme
December 2nd, 1887	*Butcher, S. F., Bury

March 21st, 1883	Carington, H. H. Smith, 1, Stanley Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester
May 2nd, 1885	Carr, William, Moorland House, Leek
October 8th, 1886	*Chesson, Rev. William H., Alnwick, Northumberland
January 23rd, 1893	Chorlton, Jno. Clayton, The Priory, Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Christie, Richard Copley, LL.D., Ribsden, Bagshot, Surrey
March 21st, 1883	Churchill, W. S., 24, Birch Lane, Manchester
June 11th, 1886	Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield
March 2nd, 1894	Claye, Herbert S., 259, Fark Lane, Macclesfield
May 8th, 1896	Clayton, Robert H., B.Sc., 37, George Street, Cheetham Hill
February 7th, 1896	Collier, Rev. E. C., Holy Trinity Vicarage, Dinting
December 3rd, 1896	*Collier, Edward, 1, Heather Bank, Moss Lane East, Moss Side
January 11th, 1884	Collmann, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles
January 11th, 1895	Columbia Institute, New York
December 1st, 1893	Cooper, Thomas, Mossley House, Congleton
March 21st, 1883	Copinger, W. A., LL.D., F.S.A., The Priory, Manchester
November 7th, 1884	Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool
January 7th, 1887	Cox, George F., Albert Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	†Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan
March 21st, 1883	Creeke, Major A. B., Westwood, Burnley
March 21st, 1883	Crofton, H. T., Manor House, Wilmslow Road, Didsbury
November 6th, 1896	Crofton, R. F., 50, Ackers Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock
October 8th, 1886	*Crompton, Alfred, jun., Dunsters, Bury
October 10th, 1890	Cunliffe, William, Oak Lea, Albert Road, Heaton, Bolton
October 7th, 1887	Curnick, H. D., Glendale, Alderley Edge
March 21st, 1883	Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., Victoria Park, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Darbyshire, Alfred, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Brazenose Street, Manchester
September 28th, 1883	*Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, F.R.S., F.S.A., Woodhurst, Fallowfield
March 21st, 1883	Dawkins, Mrs., Woodhurst, Fallowfield
April 1st, 1887	De Trafford, Sir Humphrey F., Bart., Manchester
September 26th, 1889	Dean, John, 31, Market Place, Middleton
November 2nd, 1883	Dearden, J. Griffith, Walcot Hall, Stamford

September 26th, 1889	Dehn, Rudolph, Olga Villa, Victoria Park
September 24th, 1897	*Derby, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Knowsley
March 21st, 1883	*Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London
October 8th, 1898	Dodd, Jno., Werneth Road, Oldham
January 15th, 1886	Duncan, James, M.B., 24, Richmond Street, Ashton-under-Lyne
October 8th, 1886	*Eastwood, J. A., 49, Princess Street, Manchester
November 3rd, 1893	Edelston, John A., 31, Bold Street, Warrington
March 21st, 1883	*Egerton, Right Hon. the Earl, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford
June 11th, 1886	*Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton
March 21st, 1883	Esdaile, George, C.E., The Old Rectory, Platt Lane, Rusholme
December 16th, 1889	Estcourt, Charles, F.C.S., 20, Albert Square, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	*Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead
May 4th, 1883	Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank, Mosley Street
January 29th, 1885	Farrar, William, Marton House, Skipton
December 7th, 1895	Faulkner, Robert, Ellan Brook, Brooklands.
October 11th, 1896	*Fernhead, Joseph, 1, Cyprus Street, Bolton
December 5th, 1884	Finney, James, Solicitor, Bolton
March 21st, 1883	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale
November 5th, 1897	Fleming, James, Westville, Malvern Grove, Withington
July 19th, 1898	Folkard, H. T., Free Public Library, Wigan
July 31st, 1886	Freeman, R. Knill, East View, Haulgh, Bolton
February 6th, 1885	French, Gilbert J., Thornydikes, Bolton
June 13th, 1885	French, Mrs., Thornydikes, Bolton
December 9th, 1886	*Frost, Robert, B.Sc., 53, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.
May 4th, 1883	Gadd, Very Rev. Monsignor, St. Chad's, Manchester
March 6th, 1896	Gandy, Barton, 124, Cecil Street, Moss Side
March 21st, 1883	Gill, Richard, 12, Tib Lane, Cross Street, Manchester
December 2nd, 1887	Gillibrand, W., M.R.C.S., Parkfield House, Chorley Road, Bolton
May 4th, 1883	Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side
March 4th, 1898	Gradisky, C. J. Holt, Woodlands, Victoria Park

May 7th, 1885	Gradwell, Very Rev. Monsignor, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang
January 11th, 1884	Grafton, Miss, Heysham Hall, Lancaster
September 18th, 1885	Greenhough, Richard, Church Street, Leigh
June 11th, 1886	Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon
March 21st, 1883	Hadfield, E., Barr Hill, Pendleton
November 7th, 1884	Hall, James, Edale, Broad Road, Sale
March 21st, 1883	Hall, Major G. W., Town Hall, Salford
October 10th, 1890	Hall, Oscar S., The Derbys, Bury
November 6th, 1892	Hamilton, Thomas, The Elms, Altrincham
March 4th, 1898	Hamnett, Robert, 24, Norfolk Street, Glossop
December 5th, 1890	Hanson George, Free Library, Rochdale
December 21st, 1892	Hardcastle, Thomas, Bradshaw Hall, Bolton
September 2nd, 1889	Harker, Robert B., 363, Moss Lane East, Moss Side
November 2nd, 1888	Harper, Jno., 8, Queen's Road, West Didsbury
February 6th, 1885	Harrison, William, 112, Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury
February 7th, 1896	Harte, Fred. J., 21, Cannon Street, Manchester
March 31st, 1885	*Hawkesbury, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Kirkham Abbey, York
March 21st, 1883	Haworth, S. E., Worsley Road, Swinton *
June 13th, 1885	Heape, Charles, Glebe House, Rochdale
December 7th, 1883	Heape, Joseph R., Rochdale
October 10th, 1890	Heape, Robert Taylor, Halfacre, Rochdale
March 21st, 1883	Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan
October 7th, 1892	Henderson, Alfred, Brackley Villas, Moses Gate (deceased)
October 7th, 1892	Henderson, George, 18, Nelson Square, Bolton
June 11th, 1886	Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., The Rectory, Trinity Road, Edinburgh
September 4th, 1883	Hewitson, Anthony, Bank Parade, Preston
March 21st, 1883	Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester
June 17th, 1884	Hodgson, Edwin, 4, Worsley Grove, Stockport Road, Levenshulme
October 8th, 1886	*Holden, Arthur T., Waterfoot, Heaton, Bolton
January 26th, 1894	Hope, Thomas Hoyle, The Laburnums, Atherton
January 14th, 1898	Hopwood, Joseph, 103, Old Park Lane, Southport
December 7th, 1888	Hornby, Miss Clara, 21, Osborne Terrace, Hale Road, Bowdon
January 11th, 1884	*Houldsworth, Sir W. H., M.P., Knutsford
March 7th, 1884	Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A.(Scot.), Grafton Place, Ashton-under-Lyne
March 21st, 1883	Howorth, Sir Henry H., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., 30, Collingham Place, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
February 1st, 1895	Hudson, Rev. H. A., M.A., 1, Joynson Street, Cheetham

March 4th, 1887	Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., Town Hall, Lancaster
March 21st, 1883	Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton
December 2nd, 1887	Hutton, Rev. F. R. C., Witherslack Vicarage, Grange-over-Sands
June 11th, 1886	Ives, Miss, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport
November 5th, 1886	Jackson, Miss E. S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang
December 7th, 1894	Jackson, Francis M., Sunnyside, Langham Road, Bowdon
September 26th, 1889	Jackson, Jno. R., 50, Gladstone Road, Urmston
May 4th, 1883	Jackson, S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang
April 11th, 1890	Johnson, David, Albion House, Old Trafford
May 2nd, 1885	*Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side
January 21st, 1886	Johnson, Mrs., 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side
March 4th, 1887	Johnstone, Rev Thomas Boston, D.D., 116, Chorley New Road, Bolton
April 24th, 1896	Joynson, R. H., Chasefield, Bowdon
March 21st, 1883	Kay, J. Taylor, South View, Platt Lane, Rusholme
May 2nd, 1885	Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley
June 11th, 1886	*Kay, Thomas, J.P., Moorfield, Stockport
January 14th, 1898	King, Alfred, Bleasdale, Garstang
October 10th, 1890	*Kirkham, William H. Hanmer Lee, Heaton Moor
March 21st, 1883	Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester
January 26th, 1894	Knott, J. R., 103, Union Street, Oldham
March 7th, 1890	Lancaster, Alfred, Free Library, St. Helens
January 14th, 1898	Langton, David H., Morningside, Flixton
October 12th, 1888	Larmuth, George H., F.S.I., The Grange, Handforth
September 24th, 1897	Larmuth, G. Harold, The Grange, Handforth
March 21st 1883	*Lathom, Right Hon. the Earl of, 41, Portland Place, W.
July 18th, 1885	Lawton, Mrs., Stamford Villa, Altrincham
January 31st, 1890	Laycock, Joseph, Brown Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Leech, Professor D. J., M.D., F.R.C.P., Elm House, Whalley Range
March 21st, 1883	Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range
December 7th, 1883	Leech, Miss M. L., Oak Mount, Timperley
April 26th. 1889	*Lees, John W., Greengate, Chadderton, Oldham
December 4th, 1885	Letherbrow, Thomas, Alderley Edge
March 21st, 1883	Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Heath
June 11th, 1886	*Lever, Ellis, Colwyn Bay
November 4th, 1892	Lobenhoffer, Prof. Carl, Sunny Bank, Wilmslow
March 21st, 1883	Lord, H, 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester

September 4th, 1883	*Lubbock, Sir John, Bart, M.P., F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London
August 15th, 1885	*Makinson, W. G., Montrose Villa, Ashton-on-Ribble
March 21st, 1883	March, H. Colley, M.D., F.S.A., Portesham, Dorchester
November 6th, 1896	Marsden, Richard, Clyde Road, West Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Martin, William Young, M.D., J.P., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton
November 5th, 1886	Massey, Arthur W., 27, Ackers Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock
November 1st, 1895	Mayer, Charles, Architect, John Dalton Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Milner, George, J.P., Elmscot, Timperley
January 10th, 1890	Moeller, Mrs. Victor, Derby Road, Fallowfield
March 21st, 1883	Moorhouse, Frederick, 51, Central Road, Withington
May 8th, 1896	Mosley, William, Cheadle
January 8th, 1892	Moss, Fletcher, Old Parsonage, Didsbury
April 24th, 1896	Mullen, Ben H., M.A., Peel Park, Salford
April 24th, 1896	Musgrave, Jas., jun., Knowsley Grange, Heaton, Bolton
November 1st, 1895	Naylor, James, 15, Queen's Road, West Didsbury
January 27th, 1893	Neal, Thos. Dale, Wilmslow
October 7th, 1887	*Neville, Charles, Bramhall Hall, Stockport
November 4th, 1892	Newman, Thos., Atkinson Free Library, Southpor
March 21st, 1883	Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton
June 26th, 1883	Newton, C. E., Timperley Lane, Altrincham
September 26th, 1889	Newton, The Right Hon. Lord, Lyme Park, Disley
September 4th, 1883	Nicholson, Albert, Portinscale, Hale, Bowdon
March 21st, 1883	Nicholson, J. Holme, M.A., Ellerhow, Wilmslow
January 26th, 1894	Norbury, Mrs. Jonathan, Ramsey, Isle of Man
March 21st, 1883	Norbury, Wm., Rotherwood, Wilmslow
March 6th, 1896	Ogden, J. N., Piccadilly, Manchester
October 11th, 1895	Ormerod, Ben., Sandywood, Pendlebury
January 31st, 1890	Ormerod, J. P., Castleton, near Manchester
October 10th, 1890	Ormerod, Thomas P., Castleton, Manchester
April 2nd, 1886	*Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Alton Lodge, Hartley Wintney, Winchfield, Hants
April 16th, 1886	†Owen, John, 36, Warwick Street, Hulme
March 21st, 1883	Oxley, H. M., Deansgate, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Oxley, Thomas, Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles
January 11th, 1895	Parker, John, Springfield Lane Oil Works, Salford

January 26th, 1894	Parker, Thomas, 49, Trevelyan Buildings, Corporation Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Pearson, George, Marsden Square, Manchester
October 8th, 1886	Pearson, Henry, Union Bank, Salford
September 26th, 1889	Pearson, Joseph, Marlborough Terrace, Windsor Bridge, Salford
January 27th, 1893	Pearson, Mrs., Marlborough Terrace, Windsor Bridge, Salford
May 4th, 1883	Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow
November 6th, 1896	*Phelps, Josh. J., 46, The Park, Eccles
July 25th, 1885	Posnett, W. A., Park View, Chorley, Lancashire
March 5th, 1886	Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme
October 7th, 1887	Pullinger, William, Fernacre, Romiley
April 2nd, 1886	Radford, W. Harold, The Haven, Whalley Range
December 7th, 1888	Redford, Walter J., Deane Holme, Deane, Bolton
April 14th, 1885	Redhead, R. Milne, F.L.S., Holden Clough, Bolton-by-Bowland, Clitheroe
October 17th, 1884	Reid, David, Bower Bank, Bowdon
March 21st, 1883	Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge
May 4th, 1883	Reynolds, Rev. G. W., M.A., Elwick Hall, Castle Eden, Durham
September 29th, 1884	Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Madeley, Newcastle, Staff.
November 13th, 1890	Rivers, General Pitt, F.R.S., F.S.A., Rushmore, Salisbury
December 22nd, 1884	Robinow, Max, Hawthornden House, Palatine Road, Didsbury
May 2nd, 1885	*Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., Devonshire House, Mossley
September 4th, 1883	Robinson, John, Victoria House, Albert Street, Eccles
December 21st, 1892	Robinson, Captain Marshall, The Park, Sharples
November 3rd, 1893	Robinson, W. H., 75, Bridge Street, Manchester
February 4th, 1887	Roeder, Charles, Emsee Cottage, Amherst Street, Derby Road, Withington
July 26th, 1884	*Roper, W. O., F.S.A., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth
May 4th, 1883	Rowbotham, G. H., 11, Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
April 22nd, 1884	Rudd, John, 172, Palatine Road, Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Russell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Todmorden
March 21st, 1883	*Rylands, Thomas G., F.S.A., Highfield, Thelwall, Warrington
May 4th, 1883	Sandbach, J. E., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
April 14th, 1885	*Schwabe, Charles, The Orchards, Ashton-upon-Mersey

October 9th, 1885	Scott, E. D., Greenbank, Ashton-upon-Mersey
June 26th, 1883	Scott, Fred, 33, Brazennose Street, Manchester
November 5th, 1897	Seed, Geo. H., Reinbeck, Lansdowne Rd., Didsbury
November 3rd, 1893	Sever, W. M., Fern Bank, Conway
January 20th, 1893	Seville, Richard Taylor, Carrhill Road, Mossley
March 21st, 1883	Shaw, Giles, 4, Ash Street, Southport
November 7th, 1884	Shaw, James, 95, Brookshaw Terrace, Walmersley Road, Bury
November 18th, 1884	Sheriff, Herbert, Dean's Villa, Swinton
May 8th, 1896	Simpson, Jonathan, 14, Acresfield, Bolton
March 4th, 1898	Slinger, J. S., 98, Church Street, Lancaster
March 21st, 1883	Smith, C. C., Marsden House, Muswell Hill, N.
March 7th, 1884	Smith, David, J.P., Highfield, Schools Hill, Cheadle
October 8th, 1897	Smith, Francis, Egerton Terrace, Chorlton Road, Manchester
October 8th, 1886	Smith, Thomas E., Central Chambers, Fold Street, Bolton
October 7th, 1887	Smith, William, M.D., Eccles (deceased)
Jnne 11th, 1886	Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, West Didsbury
January 11th, 1889	Smith, Wm. Jas., 71, Lord Street, Leigh
April 5th, 1889	Smithies, Harry, 21, Rectory Road, Crumpsall
March 21st, 1883	Standring, Alfred, LL.M., M.A., Dunwood Hall, near Endon, Stoke-on-Trent
March 21st, 1883	Stanning, Rev. J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire
October 12th, 1894	Stead, Alice M., 3, Belgrave Place, Birkdale Road, Southport
October 11th, 1895	Stead, Edward F., 10, Adelaide Terrace, Waterloo, Liverpool
July 26th, 1884	*Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster
October 10th, 1890	Sutcliffe, John, 12, Alan Road, Withington
March 6th, 1896	Sutcliffe, William Henry, Shore Cottage, Littleborough
March 21st, 1883	†Sutton, Charles W., F.L.A., 7, Beaconsfield, Derby Road, Withington
April 2nd, 1886	*Tatham, Leonard, M.A., 1, St. James's Square, Manchester
October 12th, 1888	Tatton, Thomas E., Wythenshawe Hall
November 7th, 1884	Taylor, Alexander, St. Mary's Place, Bury
January 29th, 1892	Taylor, George, Buena Vista, Fallowfield
March 21st, 1883	Taylor, Henry, Braeside, Tunbridge Wells
October 11th, 1896	Taylor, Isaac, Stanford, Rusholme
November 1st, 1895	Taylor, J. C., The Gables, Bramhall Park, Cheadle Hulme
March 21st, 1883	Taylor, Joshua, 277, Moorside, Droylsden
October 8th, 1897	Taylor, Walter, Heaton, Bolton

February 7th, 1890	Taylor, William, Thurstones, Bennett's Lane, Bolton
October 12th, 1888	Thomasson, J. C., 9a, St. Peter's Square
June 30th, 1885	*Trappes, Charles J. B., J.P., Stanley House, Clitheroe
October 8th, 1886	*Tristram, Wm. H., Darcy Lever Hall, Bolton
November 6th, 1896	Turner, James, Halliwell Street, Corporation Street, Manchester
February 5th, 1886	Turner, William, Purby Chase, Atherstone
July 31st, 1886	Underdown, H. W., 7, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.
December 7th, 1883	Waddington, William Angelo, Richmond Lodge, Bowdon
July 31st, 1886	Wales, George Carew, Conservative Club, Manchester
March 2nd, 1894	Warburton, Samuel, Langley, Broughton Park, Manchester
November 6th, 1885	Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham
May 4th, 1883	Ward, A. W., M.A., LL.D., 77, Addison Road, Kensington, London, W.
March 21st, 1883	Ward, James, B.A., Public Library, Leigh
June 11th, 1886	*Waters, Edwin H., Hawthorn Lea, Langham Road, Bowdon
July 31st, 1886	Watson, W. Alfred, 11, Mayfield Grove, Embden Street, Hulme
October 12th, 1888	*Watt, Miss, Speke Hall, near Liverpool
April 6th, 1894	Watts, James, Abney Hall, Cheadle
September 24th, 1897	*Wearing, James W., M.A., J.P., Fleet Square, Lancaster
May 4th, 1883	Webb, Richard, 438, Moss Lane East, Manchester
March 2nd, 1895	Webber, Harry, 34, Brundrett Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
June 18th, 1898	Webster, W. D., Oxford House, Bicester, Oxon.
September 26th, 1889	Wharton, Robert, Bolton Road, Pendleton
November 6th, 1896	Whowell, Fred, Two Brooks, Tottington, Bury
March 21st, 1883	Wieler, Miss R. C., Woodhurst, Fallowfield
December 21st, 1892	Wilkinson, J. P., C.E., Assheton Road, Newton Heath
March 21st, 1883	Wilkinson, Thomas Read, Vale Bank, Knutsford
July 31st, 1886	Wimpory, Alfred, Arts Club, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	*Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Belmont, Sidmouth, South Devon
December 2nd, 1892	Woodburne, George B. L., M.A., The Cottage, Barton-on-Irwell
April 11th, 1890	Woodhouse, Samuel T , Abbotsley, Knutsford

April 11th, 1890	Worthington, Edward N., Granville Road, Fallowfield
March 21st, 1883	Worthington, Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., Broomfield, Alderley Edge
May 4th, 1883	Wright, T. Frank, 37, Whitelow Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
March 21st, 1883	†Yates, George C., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester

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[*Those Transactions marked with an asterisk * in the following list are now for the first time included in the index, the others are continuations from the indexes of* 1891–94. *Transactions included for the first time are indexed from* 1891 *onwards.*]

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NOTE.

The value of this Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form and it will be printed as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers to cover the cost is obtained. Particulars will be forwarded by the Honorary Secretary to anyone interested in this work.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to

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Single copies of the yearly Index may be obtained. Many of the societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society. For particulars of this and other works now being carried on by the societies in union application should be made to the Honorary Secretary,

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Medals: *Frazer, Weber.*
Moghal: *King.*
Offa: *Grantley.*
Panjab: *Rodgers.*
Perseus: *Hill.*
Roman: *Bagnall-Oakeley, Evans (Sir J.), Pritchard.*
Rhegium: *MacDonald.*
Sassanian: *Rapson.*
Sicilian: *Evans.*
Stephen: *Packe, Page.*
Token coinage: *Baldwin, Weber.*

Old Sore: *Wadmore.*
Omey: *Macalister.*
Otter traps: *Allingham.*
Oxfordshire: *Manning, Sherwood. See* "Bensington," "Ewelme," "Haseley."

Paintings (church): *James, Keyser, Moule, Robertson.*
Palestine: *Ainsworth.*
Parish registers: *Acland, Birch, Fuller, Leeds, Money, Sankey, Whitehead, Wilson.*
Parliaments: *Hughes, Salomon.*
Pectorals: *Whyte.*
Pembrokeshire: *Allen (J. R.).*
Perth: *Marshall.*
Peterborough: *James.*
Pevensey: *Fairbank.*
Pevington: *Haslewood.*
Phœnicia: *Ainsworth, Ball, Eisenlohr.*

Pile dwellings : *Cocks.*
Pipe rolls : *Barnes.*
Plate : *Allen (J. R.), Browning, Cooper, Cowell, Haslewood, Hopper, Manning, Partridge, Ponsonby, Read, Van den Bergh.*
Pluckley : *Haslewood.*
Pompeii : *Ely.*
Portesham : *Cunnington.*
Portland : *Head, Mansel-Pleydell, Wallis.*
Portrush : *Patterson.*
Powysland : *Rhys.*
Prehistoric : *Fryer, Macadam, Mitchell, Paget, Peter, Seton-Karr, Shrubsole, Somervail, Treacher, Westropp.*
Barrows : *Abbott, Baker, Hancock, Kerr, Worth.*
Bone objects : *Martin, Rotherham.*
Caves : *Wray.*
Inauguration sites : *Westropp.*
Interments : *Elworthy, Mansel-Pleydell, Upton.*
Kitchen middens : *Abbott.*
Ornament : *Coffey.*
Stone circles : *Fawcett, Lewis.*
Stone implements : *Abbott, Anderson, Brinton, Moule, Patterson, Rotherham, Seton-Karr, Spurrell.*
Stone rows : *Worth.*
Stones (holed) : *Frazer.*
Urns : *Smart.*
Purbeck : *Cave-Browne.*

Quakers : *Collingwood.*
Queenborough : *Woodruff.*

Raby : *Hodgson.*
Reading : *Hone.*
Rivers : *Baker, Hickson, Mackinlay.*
Rock cuttings : *Russell.*
Roman remains : *Griffith, Leader, Lewis, O'Neil.*
Bronzes : *Fox.*
Coins : *See* "Numismatics."
Colonnade : *Venables.*
Force pump : *Davis.*
Forceps : *Laver.*
Inscriptions : *MacDonald, Morris.*
Mines : *Haverfield.*
Mithraic temple : *James, Payne.*
Pottery : *Anderson, Freshfield.*
Pottery kiln : *Laver.*
Stations : *Barbour, Fox, Moule, Munro, Pelham, Sharpe.*
Villas : *Payne, Venables.*
Roman Walls : *Baker, Barnes, Ferguson, Hodykin, Hodgson, Moule.*
Ross : *Bagnall-Oakeley.*
Rotherfield : *Keyser.*
Rumburgh : *Raven.*
Rutupiæ : *Sharpe.*
Ruyton : *Kenyon.*
Rydeware : *Wrottesley.*
Ryther-cum-Ozendyke : *Barrett.*

St. David's : *Allen (E.).*
Saints, legends of : *James, Lach-Szyrma.*
Sadberge : *Read.*
Salford : *Chattaway.*
Scotland : *Curle, Macadam, Munro, Mylne, Reid, Thorpe, Urquhart. See* "Birrens," "Bulwark," "Dumbartonshire," "Dundee," "Edinburgh," "Elgin," "Inverbroom," "Kaimes Hill," "Perth," "Stirlingshire."
Seals : *Dawson, Evans (Sir J.), Tonks, Urquhart, Windeatt.*
Selattyn : *Bulkeley-Owen.*
Sevenoaks : *Abbott.*
Shaftesbury : *Mayo.*
Shakespeare : *Cust, Malden.*
Shamrock : *Colgan.*
Shaw : *Money.*
Sherborne : *Norris, Young.*
Shoebury : *Read.*
Shoeburyness : *Laver.*
Shrewsbury : *Drinkwater.*
Shropshire : *Blakeway, Fletcher, Fox-Davies, Leighton, Phillips, Purton. See* "Ruyton," "Selattyn," "Shrewsbury," "Tong."
Shutlanger : *Dryden.*
Silchester : *Fox, Hope.*
Slane : *Westropp.*
Sligo : *Milligan.*
Slinfold : *André.*
Somersetshire. *See* "Brendon Hills," "Cadbury," "Culbone."
Southwell : *Allen (J. R.).*
Staffordshire : *Brough, Burne, Daltry, Dendy, Wrottesley. See* "Burton-on-Trent," "Chartley," "Rydeware."
Stirlingshire : *Bruce.*
Stockleigh : *Risk.*
Streatley : *Izat.*
Studland : *Hardy.*
Suffolk : *Cowell, Haslewood, Hopper, Manning, Partridge, Ponsonby, Van den Bergh. See* "Brandon," "Halesworth," "Newton," "Rumburgh."

Surrey: *Cooper, Crisp, Kershaw. See* "Croydon," "Dunsfold," "Guildford."
Sussex: *André, Cooper, Cunliffe, Kershaw, Napper, Phillips, S., Sussex. See* "Angmering," "Buxted," "Clayton," "Cuckfield," "Hastings," "Highdown," "Itchingfield," "Lewes," "Pevensey," "Rotherfield," "Slinfold," "Towncreep."

Tadley: *Money.*
Tealing: *Hutcheson.*
Tenby: *Laws.*
Thursby: *Wilson.*
Tichmarsh: *Dryden.*
Tong: *Read.*
Tonsure: *Dowden.*
Torbay: *Somervail.*
Totnes: *Windeatt.*
Towncreep: *Napper.*
Travelling: *Verney.*
Tynemouth: *Adamson.*

Wages: *Woodruff.*
Wales: *Allen (J. R.), Owen, Palmer. See* "Carnarvonshire," "Cochwillan," "Haverfordwest," "Montgomery," "Newtown," "Tenby," "Welshpool."
Walls (town): *Holmes, Laws.*
Wardour: *Perkins.*
Wareham: *Bankes, Bellows, Bennett, Cunnington.*
Warwickshire: *See* "Coventry," "Henley."
Watford: *Evans (Sir J.).*
Weights and measures: *Griffith, Read.*
Welford: *Batson.*
Welshpool: *Owen.*
Whitney: *Dawson.*
Wills: *Crisp.*
Wilne: *Browne.*
Wiltshire: *See* "Lacock," "Mere." "Wardour."
Wood carving: *Aumonier, Choir, Frith, Knox, Romaine-Walker.*
Worcester: *Noake.*
Worcestershire: *Kingsford, Willis-Bund. See* "Blockley," "Kyeshain," "King's Norton," "Worcester."
Wragby: *Sankey.*

Yetminster: *Mayo.*
Yorkshire: *Gunne, Mortimer, Skaife. See* "Adwalton," "Beverley," "Leeds," "Rythor," "Wragby."

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